

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

APRIL 10, 11, AND 12, 1956

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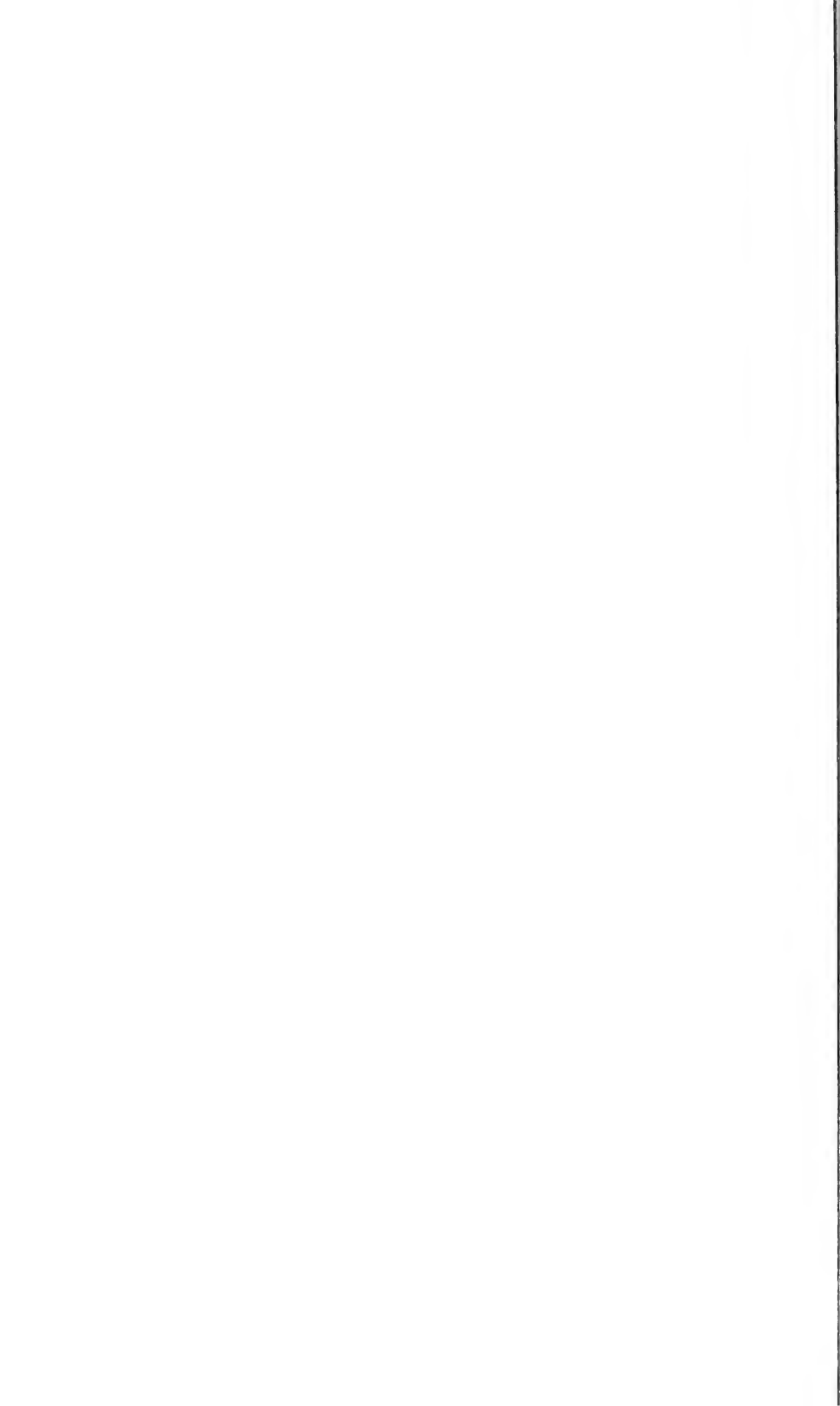
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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, APRIL 10, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11:30 a. m., in the caucus room, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senator Eastland.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and William A. Rusher, administrative counsel.

Chairman EASTLAND. The committee will come to order.

Call your witness.

Mr. MORRIS. The first witness will be Mr. Goldman.

Mr. Chairman, the subcommittee has received sworn testimony that the witness who has been called here to testify, Mr. Goldman, has been a member of the Communist Party, and Mr. Goldman is being called in order to ask him if he will tell the subcommittee of his experiences within the Communist Party, which experiences may be of assistance to the Internal Security Subcommittee in pursuing its legislative intentions.

Chairman EASTLAND. Stand up, please, sir.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GOLDMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM GOLDMAN, FLUSHING, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.; ACCOMPANIED BY STANLEY FAULKNER, HIS COUNSEL

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Goldman, would you give your name and address to the reporter, please?

Mr. GOLDMAN. William Goldman.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your residence?

Mr. GOLDMAN. 141-66 73d Terrace, Flushing, New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your occupation?

Excuse me.

Mr. FAULKNER. Senator, I just want to call attention, which was also referred to in the executive session, that the subpoena issued does not bear either a typewritten signature nor does it bear your signature or any other member of the committee.

We are not raising it as a technicality, but I think that in fairness to witnesses, when a subpoena is issued it should show some semblance of legality.

Chairman EASTLAND. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Counsel refers to the copy that was issued to him, and not the original; is that right?

Mr. FAULKNER. We have not seen the original, so we don't know what is on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you give your occupation to the committee, Mr. Goldman?

Mr. GOLDMAN. I am a newspaperman.

Mr. MORRIS. For what newspaper?

Mr. GOLDMAN. The New York Daily Mirror.

Mr. MORRIS. For how long have you been with the New York Daily Mirror?

Mr. GOLDMAN. About 14 years.

Mr. MORRIS. 14 years?

Mr. GOLDMAN. Thereabouts.

Mr. MORRIS. What publication did you work for prior to your employment with the Mirror?

Mr. GOLDMAN. Several. Among them, the Journal-American, as a summer replacement or as a sub; the New York Post as a sub; the Long Island Star-Journal; the Newark Star-Ledger; and the Long Island Daily Press.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. Goldman?

Mr. GOLDMAN. New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. What has been your education?

Mr. GOLDMAN. Elementary school, and a lot of haphazard schooling.

May I, by the way, sir, interpose this question here: Would you mind telling me what I am charged with?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, there are no charges, Mr. Goldman.

Chairman EASTLAND. This is an investigation, Mr. Goldman. Please answer the questions.

Mr. MORRIS. We have, as I said, received sworn testimony that you have been a member of the Communist Party. We would like to know of your experiences in that party so we could know more of the workings of that particular organization.

There are no charges about you; you are simply being asked about your experiences, as a witness.

Now, have you been a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Goldman?

Mr. GOLDMAN. I must decline to answer that question, sir, because I feel that the question is an invasion of my rights as a newspaperman under the first amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I have a ruling?

Chairman EASTLAND. That is overruled. You are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Well, under those circumstances, I must exercise my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment and decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party on January 1, 1953, Mr. Goldman?

Mr. GOLDMAN. No, sir—I beg your pardon. May I withdraw that?

Mr. MORRIS. You may.

Mr. GOLDMAN. I must decline to answer that question under my constitutional rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, did you effect a resignation from the Communist Party sometime subsequent to January 1, 1953?

Mr. GOLDMAN. I must exercise my constitutional rights, again, under the fifth amendment, and decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Goldman, the subcommittee has received evidence that starting sometime in 1947 and 1948, the Communist Party began to reorganize and break down the workings of its organization of groups, branches, and units into another, different organization.

The subcommittee would like to know whether you took part in that reorganization, or whether you were moved around by Communist superiors in that particular organization.

Mr. GOLDMAN. I must exercise my rights under the Constitution and decline to answer, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Goldman, have you been connected with the rank-and-file group in the Newspaper Guild in New York?

Mr. GOLDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You have not?

Mr. GOLDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Which group have you affiliated yourself with in that connection, Mr. Goldman? You understand what I am talking about.

Mr. GOLDMAN. I don't understand that question, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You know generally there have been two groups in the Newspaper Guild?

Mr. GOLDMAN. In recent years, I would say that is so.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Mr. GOLDMAN. However, my activities, any activities in the guild, ended some years back, long before there was any real cleavage, I would guess.

Mr. MORRIS. It is your testimony that you are not now active in, very active——

Mr. GOLDMAN. No, sir, I am not. I am a member of the Newspaper Guild, but completely inactive.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you a Communist now, Mr. Goldman?

Mr. GOLDMAN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman EASTLAND. All right, sir. I will release you from the subpoena. You may stand aside.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Lubell?

Chairman EASTLAND. Hold your hand up.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LUBELL. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF CECIL LUBELL, CROTON-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.;
ACCOMPANIED BY NATHAN DAMBROFF, HIS COUNSEL**

Mr. MORRIS. Give your full name and address to the reporter, Mr. Lubell.

Mr. LUBELL. Cecil Lubell, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your occupation, Mr. Lubell?

Mr. LUBELL. I am a men's wear consultant.

Mr. MORRIS. For how long have you been a men's wear consultant?

Mr. LUBELL. Several years.

Mr. MORRIS. Several years?

Mr. LUBELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You have been associated with trade publications of that industry, have you not, Mr. Lubell?

Mr. LUBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. In fact, most of your life you have been so engaged, have you not?

Mr. LUBELL. A good part of it, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would tell us what publications you have been associated with.

Mr. LUBELL. Well, I would say most of the trade publications in that field, from time to time.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us some of them, please?

Mr. LUBELL. Fairchild Publications, of which there are several.

Mr. MORRIS. Of which there were several?

Mr. LUBELL. Yes, in the men's and women's field: Apparel Arts magazine, Men's Reporter magazine.

That is all I can think of offhand.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Mr. Lubell, when did you last see Joseph North?

Mr. LUBELL. I decline to answer that under the rights of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we have had testimony that Joseph North, about whom I have just asked the witness, has been the intermediary with Communist newspapermen in the Soviet espionage network. Now, the committee has been informed that this witness does know Mr. North, and the committee has no evidence that this man has engaged in espionage or any such thing, but we do know that he knows Mr. North.

And for that reason, I am asking you the question: What have been your associations with Mr. North?

Mr. LUBELL. I would answer as before; I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. North lives near you, does he not?

Mr. LUBELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. But you will not tell us when you last saw him?

Mr. LUBELL. The same answer as before, under the fifth.

Mr. MORRIS. Now would you tell us what relationships have existed between you and Mr. North?

Mr. LUBELL. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you know a man named Myron Ehrenberg?

Mr. LUBELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see Mr. Ehrenberg?

Mr. LUBELL. I would refuse to answer under the same grounds as previously, the provisions of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Sam Kraf-sur, K-r-a-f-s-u-r?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUBELL. Vaguely, as I mentioned before.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see Mr. Kraf-sur?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUBELL. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know he is a brother-in-law of Myron Ehren-berg?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. LUBELL. Yes. I do know that, yes. I am not quite sure of the name you mention, because it is very vague in my mind, but if it is the same one I am thinking about, I think he is.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Lubell, have you ever used the alias "E. George"; G-e-o-r-g-e, with the initial E.?

Mr. LUBELL. I would refuse to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now a Communist, Mr. George—Mr. Lubell, excuse me?

Mr. LUBELL. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. Lubell?

Mr. LUBELL. In England, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. LUBELL. 1912, I think.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

What has been your education?

Mr. LUBELL. I graduated from Harvard.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. LUBELL. In 1933.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of a Communist group at Croton-on-Hudson? That is in New York.

Mr. LUBELL. I decline to answer under the grounds of the fifth, sir.

Chairman EASTLAND. You may stand aside, sir, and I will release you from your subpoena.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for our records an exchange of correspondence between John Edgar Hoover, which he wrote to Malcolm Sharp, president of the National Lawyers Guild, in response to a letter that Mr. Sharp had written to President Eisenhower.

The Sharp letter to the President is dated March 20, 1956, and Mr. Hoover's answer is dated April 9, 1956. I would like to offer that for the record, but there are several important things in Mr. Hoover's answer, and I ask that Mr. Mandel read that answer for the record.

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

APRIL 9, 1956.

Mr. MALCOLM P. SHARP,
President, National Lawyers Guild,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter dated March 20, 1956, concerning my testimony before the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives on February 1, 1956, which you indicate constituted an attack upon the independence of the bar

I stated in my testimony that the Communist Party " * * * proposes during the coming year to tactically exploit the Geneva Four-Power Conference with a background effort to defeat the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Smith Act, and other anti-Communist legislation." I further stated, "Their campaign is intended to involve legal maneuvers, acquiring eminent counsel to defend the party and its leaders, and the use of various petitions, forums, mass meetings, radio broadcasts, and any media that can assist the party in its propaganda efforts. Their tactics will be concealed and will emerge through Communist-front organizations and through so-called liberal groups which they are able to infiltrate and interest in their behalf."

My testimony was not an attack upon the independence of the bar. A fearless and independent legal profession, alert to the Machiavellian devices of the Communists, is one of our best lines of defense against this conspiracy. My testimony was a factual report of the policies and maneuvers of the Communist Party, USA, whose leaders have been convicted for criminal conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

My comments were not opinions but factual data, predicated upon information from within the Communist Party itself. For example, a Communist functionary in a recent secret Communist meeting stated that the Communist Party had set aside a fund to be used for a mass sustained campaign for the defense of the Bill of Rights. This Communist Party official further stated that, during the campaign, the Party would seek to obtain eminent legal counsel, utilize legal maneuvers, hold forums and mass meetings, circularize petitions and utilize radio broadcasts and other media that could assist the party in its propaganda efforts. Justice Learned Hand recognized this Communist tactic in his opinion upholding the first conviction of Communist leaders for violation of the Smith Act when he said, " * * * they claim the constitutional privilege of going on indoctrinating their pupils, preparing increasing numbers to pledge themselves to the crusade * * *." The American Bar Association in its widely publicized brief on communism states that the Communists "accepted the benefits of our Bill of Rights in order to destroy our Constitution and form of Government * * *."

Another Communist Party functionary stated recently in a secret Communist Party meeting, in referring to legal maneuvers on behalf of Communist members, that so far as possible the Communists would " * * * farm these things out to people who are not organically associated with the left, and allow them to demagog themselves with it and push it forward as much as possible on their own * * *."

With reference to the attitude of the bar on communism, the report of the special committee on Communist tactics, strategy and objectives to the annual convention of the American Bar Association in August 1955 stated in part as follows:

"Your (American Bar) committee is convinced that world communism, in its efforts to weaken the institutions of our country by subversive infiltration, has not abandoned its determined attack upon our judicial processes and the administration of justice. The Communist Party has been and today is still seeking to delay and if possible to defeat every phase of judicial administration that offers any imminent or even remote threat to the progress of the Communist movement in the United States."

I shall always contend that every defendant is entitled to honest, skillful, and high principled counsel for his defense. The great majority of the legal profession has long ago established very sound adherence to American ideals of justice. The legal profession has also condemned the conduct of a small but vocal group of lawyers who have tried to twist the court procedures and protections and resort to methods of chicanery to turn our legal and judicial system into a mockery as part of their campaign to destroy our American way of life.

Very truly yours,

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER.

Chairman EASTLAND. I am going to let the record stay open to investigate that portion of Mr. Hoover's letter which bears on the Internal Security Subcommittee.

The Supreme Court, in the case of *Slochower v. the Board of Higher Education*, has slashed still further the rights of States and their subdivisions. New York City has the responsibility of hiring suitable

teachers for the children of its citizens, who are entrusted to it for their education and training. The Supreme Court has recognized that, and I quote:

The teacher works in a sensitive area in a schoolroom. There he shapes the attitude of young minds toward the society in which they live. In this, the State has a vital concern. It must preserve the integrity of the schools. That the school authorities have the right and the duty to screen the officials, teachers, and employees as to their fitness to maintain the integrity of the schools as a part of ordered society, cannot be doubted. One's associates, past and present, as well as one's conduct, may properly be considered in determining fitness and loyalty.

That is the end of the quote from the decision.

It is, it seems to me, a misinterpretation of the intent of statutes such as 903 of the New York City Code to hold, as do the five judges who reversed the New York Court of Appeals in this case, that the spectacle of a college professor refusing to deny before a duly authorized tribunal that he has been a Communist, cannot justify New York City in concluding that he is disqualified from holding a position of trust and confidence.

These statutes do not impute guilt, as the court seems to imply, but rather, bear on the fitness of a public servant who should be above suspicion.

If this decision stands, it may be impossible for States and their political subdivisions to protect themselves from Communist infiltration and influence.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I point out for the record that Dr. Harry Gideonse, who is the president of Brooklyn College, made a statement as reported in the New York press this morning. I have here the New York Herald Tribune, which indicates that Dr. Gideonse said that Dr. Slochower will be suspended on the broad professional grounds that untruthfulness and perjury are conduct unbecoming to a college professor.

I might also point out, Mr. Chairman, that scheduled to testify within the next few weeks has been Dr. Joseph Cavallaro, who has been the president of the Board of Higher Education of New York City, and the committee was planning to ask him some facts about the administration of their loyalty program in New York City.

And I think, Mr. Chairman, it would be appropriate if we took up this particular subject with Dr. Cavallaro and with President Gideonse; in other words, the problems that now confront him in the administration of his loyalty program.

Chairman EASTLAND. Yes; I agree, and we will certainly go into that.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have several other things for the record here.

We have a revised—what the Attorney General calls the Consolidated List, dated November 1, 1955, of organizations designated under Executive Order No. 10450. This is a list of subversive organizations. I would like them to go into the record at this time.

Chairman EASTLAND. It will be so ordered.

(The list referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 216" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 216

ORGANIZATIONS DESIGNATED UNDER EXECUTIVE ORDER No. 10450

Compiled from memorandums of the Attorney General dated April 29, July 15, September 28, 1953, January 22, 1954, April 4, September 21, and October 20, 1955

CONSOLIDATED LIST—NOVEMBER 1, 1955

(This list is prepared solely for the information of Federal civilian officers and employees and for the convenience of persons completing applications for Federal employment. Membership in or affiliation with a designated organization is one factor to be considered by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government in connection with the employment or retention in employment of individuals in Federal service.)

Abraham Lincoln Brigade
 Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Ill.
 Action Committee To Free Spain Now
 Alabama People's Educational Association (See Communist Political Association.)
 American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Inc.
 American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions
 American Christian Nationalist Party
 American Committee for European Workers' Relief (See Socialist Workers Party.)
 American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
 American Committee for Spanish Freedom
 American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan, Inc.
 American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc.
 American Committee to Survey Labor Conditions in Europe
 American Council for a Democratic Greece, formerly known as the Greek American Council; Greek American Committee for National Unity
 American Council on Soviet Relations
 American Croatian Congress
 American Jewish Labor Council
 American League Against War and Fascism
 American League for Peace and Democracy
 American Lithuanian Workers Literary Association (Also known as Amerikos Lietuviu Darbininku Literaturos Draugija.)
 American National Labor Party
 American National Socialist League
 American National Socialist Party
 American Nationalist Party
 American Patriots, Inc.
 American Peace Crusade
 American Peace Mobilization
 American Poles for Peace
 American Polish Labor Council
 American Polish League
 American Rescue Ship Mission (A project of the United American Spanish Aid Committee.)
 American-Russian Fraternal Society
 American Russian Institute, New York (Also known as the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union.)
 American Russian Institute, Philadelphia
 American Russian Institute of San Francisco
 American Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles
 American Slav Congress
 American Women for Peace
 American Youth Congress
 American Youth for Democracy
 Armenian Progressive League of America
 Associated Klans of America
 Association of Georgia Klans
 Association of German Nationals (Reichsdeutsche Vereinigung)
 Association of Lithuanian Workers (Also known as Lietuviu Darbininku Susivienijimas.)
 Ausland-Organization der NSDAP, Overseas Branch of Nazi Party
 Baltimore Forum
 Benjamin Davis Freedom Committee

Black Dragon Society
 Boston School for Marxist Studies, Boston, Mass.
 Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee
 Bulgarian American People's League of the United States of America
 California Emergency Defense Committee
 California Labor School, Inc., 321 Divisadero Street, San Francisco, Calif.
 Carpatho-Russian People's Society
 Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent (Also known as Central Council of American Croatian Women, National Council of Croatian Women)
 Central Japanese Association (Beikoku Chuo Nipponjin Kai)
 Central Japanese Association of Southern California
 Central Organization of the German-American National Alliance (Deutsche-Amerikanische Einheitsfront)
 Cervantes Fraternal Society
 China Welfare Appeal, Inc.
 Chopin Cultural Center
 Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges
 Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side (New York City)
 Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder
 Citizens Emergency Defense Conference
 Citizens Protective League
 Civil Liberties Sponsoring Committee of Pittsburgh
 Civil Rights Congress and its affiliated organizations, including:
 Civil Rights Congress for Texas
 Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York
 Civil Rights Congress for Texas (See Civil Rights Congress.)
 Columbians
 Comite Coordinador Pro Republica Espanola
 Comite Pro Derechos Civiles (See Puerto Rican Comite Pro Libertades Civiles.)
 Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy
 Committee for Constitutional and Political Freedom
 Committee for Nationalist Action
 Committee for Peace and Brotherhood Festival in Philadelphia
 Committee for the Defense of the Pittsburgh Six
 Committee for the Negro in the Arts
 Committee for the Protection of the Bill of Rights
 Committee for World Youth Friendship and Cultural Exchange
 Committee To Abolish Discrimination in Maryland (See Congress Against Discrimination; Maryland Congress Against Discrimination; Provisional Committee To Abolish Discrimination in the State of Maryland.)
 Committee To Aid the Fighting South
 Committee To Defend Marie Richardson
 Committee To Defend the Rights and Freedom of Pittsburgh's Political Prisoners
 Committee To Uphold the Bill of Rights
 Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark.
 Communist Party, United States of America, its subdivisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates
 Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates, including:
 Alabama People's Educational Association
 Florida Press and Educational League
 Oklahoma League for Political Education
 People's Educational and Press Association of Texas
 Virginia League for People's Education
 Congress Against Discrimination (See Committee To Abolish Discrimination in Maryland.)
 Congress of American Revolutionary Writers
 Congress of American Women
 Congress of the Unemployed
 Connecticut Committee To Aid Victims of the Smith Act
 Connecticut State Youth Conference
 Council for Jobs, Relief, and Housing
 Council for Pan-American Democracy
 Council of Greek Americans
 Council on African Affairs
 Croatian Benevolent Fraternity
 Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Military Virtue Society of Japan or Military Art Society of Japan)

Daily Worker Press Club
 Daniels Defense Committee
 Dante Alighieri Society (between 1935 and 1940)
 Dennis Defense Committee
 Detroit Youth Assembly
 East Bay Peace Committee
 Elsinore Progressive League
 Emergency Conference To Save Spanish Refugees (founding body of the North American Spanish Aid Committee)
 Everybody's Committee To Outlaw War
 Families of the Baltimore Smith Act Victims
 Families of the Smith Act Victims
 Federation of Italian War Veterans in the U. S. A., Inc. (Associazione Nazionale Combattenti Italiani, Federazione degli Stati Uniti d'America)
 Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society
 Florida Press and Education League (See Communist Political Association.)
 Frederick Douglass Educational Center
 Freedom Stage, Inc.
 Friends of the New Germany (Freunde des Neuen Deutschlands)
 Friends of the Soviet Union
 Garibaldi American Fraternal Society
 George Washington Carver School, New York City
 German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund)
 German-American Republican League
 German-American Vocational League (Deutsche-Amerikanische Berufsgemeinschaft)
 Guardian Club
 Harlem Trade Union Council
 Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee
 Heimusha Kai, also known as Nokubei Heieki Gimusha Kai, Zaibel Nihonjin, Heiyaku Gimusha Kai, and Zaibel Heimusha Kai (Japanese Residing in America Military Conscripts Association)
 Hellenic-American Brotherhood
 Hinode Kai (Imperial Japanese Reservists)
 Hinomaru Kai (Rising Sun Flag Society—a group of Japanese war veterans)
 Hokubei Zaigo Shoke Dan (North American Reserve Officers Association)
 Hollywood Writers Mobilization for Defense
 Hungarian-American Council for Democracy
 Hungarian Brotherhood
 Idaho Pension Union
 Independent Party (Seattle, Wash.). (See Independent People's Party.)
 Independent People's Party. (See Independent Party.)
 Independent Socialist League
 Industrial Workers of the World
 International Labor Defense
 International Workers Order, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates
 Japanese Association of America
 Japanese Overseas Central Society (Kaigai Dobo Chuo Kai)
 Japanese Overseas Convention, Tokyo, Japan, 1940
 Japanese Protective Association (recruiting organization)
 Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City
 Jewish Culture Society
 Jewish People's Committee
 Jewish People's Fraternal Order
 Jikyoku Iinkai (The Committee for the Crisis)
 Johnson-Forest Group. (See Johnsonites.)
 Johnsonites (See Johnson-Forest Group.)
 Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee
 Joint Council of Progressive Italian-Americans, Inc.
 Joseph Weydemeyer School of Social Science, St. Louis, Mo.
 Kibei Seinen Kai (Association of United States Citizens of Japanese Ancestry who have returned to America after studying in Japan)
 Knights of the White Camellia
 Ku Klux Klan
 Kyffhaeuser, also known as Kyffhaeuser League (Kyffhaeuser Bund) Kyffhaeuser Fellowship (Kyffhaeuser Kameradschaft)
 Kyffhaeuser War Relief (Kyffhaeuser Kriegshilfswerk)
 Labor Council for Negro Rights

Labor Research Association, Inc.
 Labor Youth League
 League for Common Sense
 League of American Writers
 Lietor Society (Italian Black Shirts)
 Macedonian-American People's League
 Mario Morgantini Circle
 Maritime Labor Committee to Defend Al Lannon
 Maryland Congress Against Discrimination (See Committee to Abolish Discrimination in Maryland.)
 Massachusetts Committee for the Bill of Rights
 Massachusetts Minute Women for Peace (not connected with the Minute Women of the U. S. A., Inc.)
 Maurice Braverman Defense Committee.
 Michigan Civil Rights Federation
 Michigan Council for Peace
 Michigan School of Social Science
 Nanka Teikoku Gunyudan (Imperial Military Friends Group or Southern California War Veterans)
 National Association of Mexican Americans (Also known as Association Nacional Mexico-Americana.)
 National Blue Star Mothers of America (Not to be confused with the Blue Star Mothers of America organized in February 1942.)
 National Committee for Freedom of the Press
 National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners
 National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims
 National Committee to Win the Peace
 National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (a Conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.)
 National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent
 National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
 National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
 National Labor Conference for Peace
 National Negro Congress
 National Negro Labor Council
 Nationalist Action League
 Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico
 Nature Friends of America (since 1935)
 Negro Labor Victory Committee
 New Committee for Publications
 Nichibei Kogyo Kaisha (The Great Fujii Theatre)
 North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
 North American Spanish Aid Committee
 North Philadelphia Forum
 Northwest Japanese Association
 Ohio School of Social Sciences
 Oklahoma Committee to Defend Polical Prisoners
 Oklahoma League for Political Education. (See Communist Political Association.)
 Original Southern Klans, Incorporated
 Pacific Northwest Labor School, Seattle, Washington
 Palo Alto Peace Club
 Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone)
 Peace Information Center
 Peace Movement of Ethiopia
 People's Drama, Inc.
 People's Educational and Press Association of Texas. (See Communist Political Association.)
 People's Educational Association. (Incorporated under name Los Angeles Educational Association, Inc., also known as People's Educational Center, People's University, People's School.)
 People's Institute of Applied Religion
 Peoples Programs (Seattle, Wash.)
 People's Radio Foundation, Inc.
 People's Rights Party
 Philadelphia Labor Committee for Negro Rights
 Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art
 Photo League (New York City)

Pittsburgh Arts Club
 Political Prisoners' Welfare Committee
 Polonia Society of the IWO
 Progressive German-Americans (also known as Progressive German-Americans of Chicago)
 Proletarian Party of America
 Protestant War Veterans of the United States, Inc.
 Provisional Committee of Citizens for Peace, Southwest Area
 Provisional Committee on Latin American Affairs
 Provisional Committee to Abolish Discrimination in the State of Maryland.
 (See Committee to Abolish Discrimination in Maryland.)
 Puerto Rican Comite Pro Libertades Civiles (CLC). (See Comite Pro Derechos Civiles.)
 Puertorriquenos Unidos (Puerto Ricans United)
 Quad City Committee for Peace
 Queensbridge Tenants League
 Revolutionary Workers League
 Romanian-American Fraternal Society
 Russian American Society, Inc.
 Sakura Kai (Patriotic Society, or Cherry Association—composed of veterans of the Russo-Japanese War)
 Samuel Adams School, Boston, Mass.
 Santa Barbara Peace Forum
 Schappes Defense Committee
 Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee
 School of Jewish Studies, New York City
 Seattle Labor School, Seattle, Wash.
 Serbian-American Fraternal Society
 Serbian Vidovdan Council
 Shinto Temples. (Limited to State Shinto abolished in 1945.)
 Silver Shirt Legion of America
 Slavic Council of Southern California
 Slovak Workers Society
 Slovenian-American National Council
 Socialist Workers Party, including American Committee for European Workers' Relief
 Socialist Youth League. (See Workers Party.)
 Sokoku Kai (Fatherland Society)
 Southern Negro Youth Congress
 Suiko Sha (Reserve Officers Association, Los Angeles)
 Syracuse Women for Peace
 Tom Paine School of Social Science, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Tom Paine School of Westchester, N. Y.
 Trade Union Committee for Peace. (See Trade Unionists for Peace.)
 Trade Unionists for Peace. (See Trade Union Committee for Peace.)
 Tri-State Negro Trade Union Council
 Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union
 Union of American Croats
 Union of New York Veterans
 United American Spanish Aid Committee
 United Committee of Jewish Societies and Landsmanschaft Federations (also known as Coordination Committee of Jewish Landsmanschaften and Fraternal Organizations)
 United Committee of South Slavic Americans
 United Defense Council of Southern California
 United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization
 United May Day Committee
 United Negro and Allied Veterans of America
 Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York. (See Civil Rights Congress.)
 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
 Virginia League for People's Education. (See Communist Political Association.)
 Voice of Freedom Committee
 Walt Whitman School of Social Science, Newark, N. J.
 Washington Bookshop Association
 Washington Committee for Democratic Action
 Washington Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights
 Washington Commonwealth Federation

Washington Pension Union
 Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation
 Workers Alliance (since April 1936)
 Workers Party, including Socialist Youth League
 Yiddisher Kultur Farband
 Young Communist League
 Yugoslav-American Cooperative Home, Inc.
 Yugoslav Seamen's Club, Inc.

Mr. MORRIS. And we have here the certificate of the loss of the nationality of the United States, citizenship, of Lauchlin B. Currie and Solomon Adler, both of whom have figured in the hearings before the subcommittee in past years. I would like them to go into the record, too.

Chairman EASTLAND. They will be so ordered.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits No. 217 and 217-A" and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 217

CERTIFICATE OF THE LOSS OF THE NATIONALITY OF THE UNITED STATES

(This form has been prescribed by the Secretary of State pursuant to Section 501 of the Act of October 14, 1940, 54 Stat. 1171)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
December 28, 1955.

Certificate approved for the Secretary of State.

FRANCES G. KNIGHT,
Director, Passport Office.
 C. W. BORLEN.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA, SS:

I, Norah Alsterlund, hereby certify that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, Lauchlin B. Currie was born at Nova Scotia, Canada, on October 8, 1902; That he resides at Carrera 5, 25A-38, Bogotá, Colombia; That he last resided in the United States at Gaylor Road, Scarsdale, New York; That he left the United States on August 27, 1950; That he acquired the nationality of the United States by virtue of naturalization on January 21, 1935, at United States District Court at Boston, Massachusetts;

That he has expatriated himself under the provisions of Section 352 (a) (2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 by residing continuously in Colombia since August 27, 1950.

That the evidence of such action consists of the following: Mr. Currie's statement that he had made his home in Colombia since August 27, 1950, corroborated by evidence of landing stamps placed in his passport by Colombian immigration authorities.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my office seal this 3rd day of October, 1955.

[SEAL]

NORAH ALSTERLUND,
Consul of the United States of America.

The certificate should be executed in quadruplicate. Three copies thereof should be sent to the Department, one of which should be the original, and one should be retained in the files of the office in which it was executed. If the certificate is approved by the Department, approval will be shown by means of a stamp endorsement of each of the three copies signed by an appropriate officer of the Passport Division. The Department will then return one copy to the Foreign Service office at which the certificate was issued. Upon receipt of the approved copy of the certificate, the copy retained by the Foreign Service office will be delivered to the expatriate after the Foreign Service Officer has made a notation thereon that the certificate has been approved by the Department under the date of the stamp endorsement.

EXHIBIT No. 217-A

FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CERTIFICATE OF THE LOSS OF THE NATIONALITY OF THE UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
December 15, 1953.

(This form has been prescribed by the Secretary of State pursuant to Section 501 of the Act of October 14, 1940, 54 Stat. 1171, and Section 358 of the Act of June 27, 1952, 66 Stat. 272)

Certificate approved for the Secretary of State.

R. S. SHIPLEY,
Director, Passport Office.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AT LONDON, ENGLAND, ss.

JOHN J. WHITE.

I, Walter M. Walsh, hereby certify that, to the best of my knowledge and belief Solomon Adler was born at Leeds, Yorkshire England, on August 6, 1909;

That he resides at 8 Queen Edith's Way, Cambridge, England;

That he last resided in the United States at C/o 19 Ware Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts;

That he left the United States in May 1950;

That he acquired the nationality of the United States by virtue of his naturalization before the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, being granted certificate of naturalization No. 4916468;

That he has expatriated himself under the provisions of Section 352 (a) (1) Chapter 3 of Title III of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 by having a continuous residence for three years in England, the country of his birth and former nationality;

That the evidence of such action consists of the following: Letter dated November 3, 1953, to the American Embassy, London, from Solomon Adler, in which he stated that he has resided in England since May 13, 1950.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my office seal this 4th day of December 1953.

[SEAL]

WALTER M. WALSH,
Consul of the United States of America at London, England.

The certificate should be executed in quadruplicate. Three copies thereof should be sent to the Department, one of which should be the original, and one should be retained in the files of the office in which it was executed. If the certificate is approved by the Department, approval will be shown by means of a stamp endorsement of each of the three copies signed by an appropriate officer of the Passport Division. The Department will then return one copy to the Foreign Service office at which the certificate was issued. Upon receipt of the approved copy of the certificate, the copy retained by the Foreign Service office will be delivered to the expatriate after the Foreign Service Officer has made a notation thereon that the certificate has been approved by the Department under the date of the stamp endorsement.

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Certificate of Naturalization No. 4916468 issued to Solomon Adler by the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia on September 3, 1940.

Passport No. 267709 issued by the Department of State in Washington on May 9, 1950, to Solomon Adler.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more evidence today, Senator.

Chairman EASTLAND. We will now stand in recess.

Mr. MORRIS. Until tomorrow at 10:30, sir.

Chairman EASTLAND. Yes.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at 10:30 a. m., Wednesday, April 11, 1956.)

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a. m., in the caucus room, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner presiding.

Present: Senators Jenner and Watkins.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and William A. Rusher, administrative counsel.

Senator JENNER. The committee will come to order.

Call the first witness, please.

Mr. MORRIS. The first witness will be Mrs. Blanchard.

Mrs. Blanchard, will you come forward, please?

Mr. Chairman, may I state at this time that these witnesses have been called this morning in connection with the series of hearings that the Internal Security Subcommittee is conducting, with a view toward making a determination of the operation of the Soviet organization in the United States.

Senator JENNER. Mrs. Blanchard, will you be sworn to testify?

Do you swear that the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I do.

Senator JENNER. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Boudin, will you note your appearance on the record, please?

Mr. BOUDIN. The witness is represented—May we have the pictures no longer taken while we talk, please?

Senator JENNER. Gentlemen, counsel has asked that you take no more pictures while they are testifying. Take your pictures now and then get out of the way, please.

Thank you, gentlemen. Thank you very much.

Proceed, counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you note your appearance for the record, Mr. Boudin?

Mr. BOUDIN. Yes. My name is Leonard B. Boudin, 25 Broad Street, New York. I am one of counsel to Mrs. Blanchard.

Mr. MORRIS. Your associate here today, Mr. Boudin.

Mr. BOUDIN. Yes. Mr. Wittenberg.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify yourself for the record, Mr. Wittenberg, please?

Mr. WITTENBERG. Yes. My name is Philip Wittenberg. I am an attorney at law practicing in the State of New York, at 17 West 40th Street, New York. I am also admitted to the Supreme Court of the United States.

**TESTIMONY OF WINIFRED BLANCHARD; ACCOMPANIED BY
LEONARD B. BOUDIN AND PHILIP WITTENBERG, HER AT-
TORNEYS**

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Blanchard, will you tell the committee where you were born?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I was born in New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. Was your maiden name Winifred Brennan?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I would like to decline to answer on the grounds that this committee is without jurisdiction, is violating the separation-of-powers doctrine in invading the judicial power, on the ground of my rights under the first, fourth, ninth, and fifth amendments, which the Supreme Court has held to be a shield to protect the innocent, and that this proceeding is a bill of attainder.

Senator JENNER. Let the record show that the witness' refusal to answer the questions on all the grounds stated is overruled with the exception of the fifth amendment. This committee does recognize the witness' refusal to answer under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. MORRIS. And you do, do you not, Mrs. Blanchard, invoke, among other things, your privilege against self-incrimination?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I am sorry, sir?

Mr. MORRIS. And you do, among other invocations, include your privilege against self-incrimination, do you not?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. Well, I rely on all the grounds I have stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; including that.

Senator JENNER. Maybe I did not hear right. But I thought you said the fifth amendment as one of them.

Mr. BOUDIN. That is correct.

Mrs. BLANCHARD. And I referred to the Supreme Court's decision in the Slochower case, in which the privilege is a shield to protect the innocent.

Senator JENNER. Yes; and under the fifth amendment?

Mr. BOUDIN. That is correct.

Senator JENNER. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. You are the wife of Robert Blanchard who until recently has been a commercial artist with television station WDSU in New Orleans?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer under all the grounds previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you lived in Slidell, La., until recently?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer on all the grounds previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Blanchard, when did you first hear that the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee was seeking to serve a subpoena on you and your husband?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the subcommittee has made extensive efforts to serve a subpoena on Mrs. Blanchard and her husband, Mr. Blanchard. In fact, we had marshals in New Orleans; we had marshals in the State of Florida and marshals in the State of New York, all endeavoring to effect service, and it was not until almost 2 weeks after we first made an effort that we succeeded in serving the process in New York State.

Now, you were served in New York, were you not, Mrs. Blanchard?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer on the grounds stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in order to show the appropriateness of my question about Mrs. Blanchard's maiden name, I would like to offer for the record the certificate of birth of John Francis Brennan, who was a brother of Mrs. Blanchard.

Now, was John Francis Brennan your brother?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer.

Senator JENNER. For the reasons previously stated?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. For the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. Which include the fifth amendment against self-incrimination.

All right. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the department of health, bureau of records and statistics, city of New York, indicates that John Francis Brennan was born in New York City on April 9, 1909, according to birth record No. 19453, filed in the Manhattan office of this bureau on April 21, 1909.

Now, Mrs. Blanchard, did you ask the department of health, bureau of records and statistics, on November 11, on or about November 11, 1950, for a copy of your late brother's birth certificate?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, I wonder if you would read for the record one of the obituary notices of John Francis Brennan.

Mr. MANDEL. I have here three obituary notices, one from the New York Times of April 12, 1938, headed "Couple end lives in a suicide pact," referring to:

John Brennan, 29 years old, a commercial artist, and his wife, Catherine, 28, were found dead last night in what appeared to be a suicide compact in their home at 37-41 78th Street, Jackson Heights, Queens.

The other is the New York Herald Tribune of April 12, 1938, page 3, headed "Queens artist and bride die in suicide pact":

Veteran of Lincoln Brigade gives poison to wife, 28, and turns on gas; were "disgusted with world."

Then the Daily Worker of April 13, 1938, has an article entitled, "Lincoln vets to honor Brennan at funeral," and it states:

In December 1936, John Brennan went to Spain. He was one of the most heroic fighters with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. At Jarama, at Madrid, wherever the going was hottest there was Brennan.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may those three notices go in the record, please?

Senator JENNER. They may go in the record and become part of the record.

(Copies of the three newspaper accounts above referred to were marked "Exhibits 218, 218-A, and 218-B" and read as follows:

EXHIBIT No. 218

[The New York Times, Tuesday, April 12, 1938, p. 21]

COUPLE END LIVES IN A SUICIDE PACT—BODIES OF COMMERCIAL ARTIST AND BRIDE ARE FOUND IN JACKSON HEIGHTS HOME—GAS STOVE BURNERS OPEN—WOMAN APPARENTLY HAD TAKEN POISON—HOUSE NEAR THAT OF DONALD CARROLL, JR.

John Brennan, 29 years old, a commercial artist, and his wife, Catherine, 28, were found dead last night in what appeared to be a suicide compact in their home at 37-41 78th Street, Jackson Heights, Queens, where they had moved 3 weeks ago after their marriage in January.

The home, a 2-story 1-family dwelling, is just 2 doors south of the home of Donald Carroll, Jr., 16, who killed his sweetheart on March 24 in a suicide pact which he failed to fulfill.

The Brennan couple were discovered at about 9:30 o'clock after neighbors reported smelling gas from the house. Brennan was found dead in a chair in the kitchen where all burners on the gas stove had been turned on. He was fully clothed. His wife was found dead unclothed in bed on the second floor.

After an investigation, the police said that Mrs. Brennan apparently had taken poison. Her lips were seared and a phial was found on a table near the bed where she was found. Dr. Richard Grimes, assistant medical examiner, ordered an immediate autopsy to determine the exact cause of her death.

A note addressed to Brennan's mother, Mrs. Anna Brennan, was found on a stand in the kitchen, revealing the intention of the couple to end their lives. The police did not make the note public and would not say if it revealed a motive for the tragedy.

Papers found in the house showed that Brennan had served in the Washington-Lincoln Brigade with the Spanish Loyalists in Spain last year. He had been discharged from a Spanish hospital on July 22, 1937, after receiving treatment for wounds he had received.

The couple were married at the Municipal Building on January 4, 1938. Mrs. Brennan was the former Catherine Jadazewski and lived with her parents at 164 India Street, Brooklyn.

Brennan's mother and a sister, Winifred, had lived in the Jackson Heights home but turned the house over to the couple 3 weeks ago and went to live at 88-06 Parsons Boulevard, Jamaica. A brother, Michael, said that the Brennans had planned to leave on a belated honeymoon yesterday.

[New York Herald Tribune, Tuesday, April 12, 1938, p. 3]

EXHIBIT No. 218-A

QUEENS ARTIST AND BRIDE DIE IN SUICIDE PACT—VETERAN OF LINCOLN BRIGADE GIVES POISON TO WIFE, 28, AND TURNS ON GAS; WERE "DISGUSTED WITH WORLD"

John Brennan, 29 years old, and his wife, Catherine, 28, were found dead last night at 37-41 78th Street, Jackson Heights, Queens, a house the young man's mother, Mrs. Anna Brennan, gave them when they were married on January 4. The police believe that they died by agreement; that Brennan gave poison to his wife and then went to the kitchen and turned on the gas.

The house is the second one from the home of Donald F. Carroll, Jr., 16 years old, at 37-37 78th Street, where, on March 24, he shot and killed Charlotte Matthiesen, 18, in a similar contract.

It was apparent that Brennan had killed himself. He was found seated in a chair in the kitchen, his head resting on the range, in which all six jets, including the pilot light, were open. A note said to be in his writing was found on a telephone stand in the hall near the kitchen door. It was addressed to his mother.

The police said it indicated suicide. All that they would divulge of its contents was that Brennan said that he and his wife were "disgusted with the world."

He had served with the government forces in Spain as a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. He was wounded and sent to a hospital, from which he was discharged last July. On his return to New York he resumed work as a commercial artist. On January 4 he married Catherine Jadazewski, of 164 India Street, Brooklyn.

His wife was found in a bedroom upstairs. She was unclad, but a blanket was drawn up around her shoulders. Her hands were folded on her breast. Dr. Richard A. Grimes, assistant medical examiner, said that she had not died of asphyxiation. He took away an empty vial which he found in the room, which is believed to have contained the poison she swallowed.

Brennan apparently had been dead about 6 hours when the police broke into the house early in the evening. His wife, it was thought, had died somewhat earlier. There was an indentation in the bed as though some one had been sitting there after she died. It is thought that Brennan sat there before he went downstairs to turn on the gas. The Carroll boy, however, failed to kill himself and is under indictment on a murder charge.

Mrs. Adeline Filetz, who lives next door at 37-43 78th Street, smelled the gas and called the police. Sgt. Benjamin Bailey and Patrolman Cornelius Russell of the Newtown police station went to the back of the house and, looking through a kitchen window, saw Brennan seated in front of the stove. They forced the door.

EXHIBIT No. 218-B

[Daily Worker, New York, Wednesday, April 13, 1938, p. 2]

LINCOLN VETS TO HONOR BRENNAN AT FUNERAL

In December 1936, John Brennan went to Spain. He was one of the most heroic fighters with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. At Jarama, at Madrid, wherever the going was hottest, there was Brennan.

Discharged from a Spanish hospital on July 22, 1937, Brennan arrived in the States the following month. Three months ago he married.

Today Brennan and his wife are dead by suicide. He turned on the gas. His wife, Catherine, drank poison.

His former fellow fighters, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, in deploring the step that Brennan took as the way out of his problems, point to the economic worries that have confronted him ever since his return from Spain.

PRAISED BY VETERANS

"Brennan was an excellent soldier," said Carl Bradley, secretary of the veterans. "His war record was typical of the courage and heroism of the American volunteers. But he could find no work. His leg wound bothered him. He worried constantly about Spain. If he could have returned to an America where opportunities for his career and talents were plentiful, Brennan would be alive today."

The veterans have asked to be allowed to honor Brennan at his funeral where their tribute will record the best parts of his life and at which they will speak words condemning the injustice of his death to the bleak hopeless economic future of an America that laid its heavy hand on his hope and blasted it to suicide.

Brennan, 29, was a commercial artist and lived with his mother at 37-41 78th Street, Jackson Heights, Queens.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mrs. Blanchard, have you ever lived at 71 West Boulevard, East Rockaway, Long Island?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the department of health sent his certificate of birth on November 11, 1950, to 71 West Boulevard, East Rockaway, Long Island, care of Blanchard; sent to John Francis Brennan, care of Blanchard.

Now, were you living there at that time?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, when Robert Thompson, leader of the Communist Party, was arrested in California on August 27, 1953, he had in his possession and was using as an identification paper the certificate of birth of John Francis Brennan, and we have here the testimony of an FBI man who made the arrest at the time, who testified to that effect.

May Mr. Mandel read that into the record at this time in full, Mr. Chairman?

Senator JENNER. He may.

Proceed, Mr. Mandel.

Mr. MANDEL (reading):

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA *v.* ROBERT G. THOMPSON

C. 142-239

Before: Hon. Gregory F. Noonan, district judge.

NEW YORK, December 8, 1953.

December 9, 1953.

December 16, 1953.

STENOGRAPHER'S MINUTES

FRANK J. SMITH, called as a witness on behalf of the Government, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Direct examination by Mr. KILSHEIMER:

Q. What is your occupation, Mr. Smith?—A. I am a special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Q. For how long have you been so employed?—A. 12 years.

That is page 67 of the testimony.

Page 85:

Smith—direct:

* * * Thompson, I put my initials and the date on the document.

(Government's exhibit 20 marked for identification.)

Q. I show you Government's exhibit 20 for identification and ask you when you saw that for the first time [handing]?—A. I saw this document for the first time when I removed it from a coat that Thompson had had on him in the office of the San Francisco Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Q. What type of coat was this that you removed it from?—A. It was the summer-weight suit that I previously described. I took down that he identified it as his and reported back to the office at his request.

Mr. KILSHEIMER. I offer Government's exhibit 20 for identification in evidence.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, at this point may I offer for the record this same exhibit No. 20, which is marked "Exhibit No. 20, United States District Court, Southern District of New York, December 8, 1953"?

Senator JENNER. It will go in the record.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 219 and 219 A" and appear on following pages.)

Department of Health Bureau of Records and Statistics City of New York

CERTIFICATION OF BIRTH

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that

John Francis Brennan
Male was born in the City of New York on *April 9 1909*
 according to Birth Record No. *19453* filed in the *Municipal*

Office of this Bureau on *April 24 1909*

In witness whereof, the seal of the Department of Health of the City of New York has been
 affixed hereto this *13th* day of *March* 19*20*

ABRAHAM SINOVSKY

Borough Registrar

John F. McGowan Jr. D. *Carl E. Edwards*
 Commissioner of Health Director of Bureau

Warning: This certification is not valid if it has been altered in any way whatsoever or if it does not bear the raised
 seal of the Department of Health.

all-604 70126(49) 115

EXHIBIT 219-A

EXHIBIT**U. S. Dist. Court** *20***S. D. of N. Y.****DEC 8 1953** *14***9 AM****CRIME 14-239**

A. certification of birth is issued pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 2 of Subdivision a of Section 567-4.0 of the Administrative Code for the City of New York, Subdivision c of this Section read, in part, as follows:

"Any . . . certification of birth, when prepared, certified by the Commissioner of Health or person authorized to act for him, shall be prima facie evidence of the facts therein stated, in all courts and before any officer, magistrate, justice of the peace, notary public, administrative officer, or other official, and any such . . . certification shall be accepted with the same force and effect with respect to the birth status of a person as the original birth record or a certified copy thereof."

See 8/17/53

Mr. MORRIS. That is a photostat of the certificate of birth of John Francis Brennan, which was taken from the person of Robert Thompson at the time of the arrest.

Senator JENNER. It may go in the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you know Robert Thompson?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

(A news story, from the New York Times of August 28, 1953, was later ordered into the record as Exhibit No. 220 and follows in full:)

EXHIBIT No. 220

[The New York Times, New York, August 28, 1953]

2 TOP RED FUGITIVES CAPTURED BY FBI IN SIERRA HIDEOUT

THOMPSON, ONE OF 11 CONVICTED HERE, AND STEINBERG, INDICTED UNDER SMITH ACT, ARRESTED

WASHINGTON, August 27.—J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, announced today that FBI agents had arrested two long-missing Communist Party leaders in an 8,000-foot high hideout in the Sierra Mountains near Sonora, Calif.

Mr. Hoover identified the two as Robert G. Thompson, 38 years old, who was one of the 11 leading Communists convicted in New York in 1949 of having conspired to advocate the violent overthrow of the Government, and Sidney Steinberg, 38, indicted on similar charges.

Mr. Hoover said the FBI agents also had arrested two men and a woman on charges of harboring the two fugitive Red leaders in a sparsely settled community near Yosemite National Park in California.

He identified the three as Carl Edwin Rasi, a Minnesota Communist Party leader; Samuel I. Coleman, a New York Communist Party functionary, and Mrs. Shirley Keith Kremen, who rented the cabin in the High Sierras.

Thompson, a New York party functionary and a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, had been missing since July 2, 1951, when he was supposed to appear in Federal court in New York to begin his 3-year prison sentence for having violated the Smith Act. The FBI said he had been hiding in the Communist Party underground ever since.

POSSE CLOSES IN ON CABIN

The Bureau said that Steinberg had evaded arrest since June 1951, when he and 20 other second-string party leaders had been indicted in New York on Smith Act violation charges.

Nearly a score of agents, unshaven and dressed as campers, surprised Thompson and Steinberg in the yard of a two-story cabin 2 miles north of the summer resort of Twain Harte in a heavy growth of small pine in California's Tuolumne County.

The FBI said Thompson and Steinberg were in the yard outside the comfortably furnished cabin and the others were inside when the posse closed in from the woods on all sides. The agents said the pair, although obviously surprised, recovered quickly and refused to identify themselves.

The raiding party was led by William M. Whelan, who declined to say how long the Government had been keeping the remote cabin under observation.

The cabin, roughly finished on the outside but well appointed inside, was located slightly outside the regular resort area at the end of a remote stretch of dirt road known as Little Fuller Road.

Thompson was taken to San Francisco and immediately transferred to Alcatraz prison. He was escorted to the Alcatraz landing by two agents. The FBI said he might be transferred to some other prison but that for the present he would stay on the Rock.

The others also were taken to San Francisco for immediate arraignment before Joseph Karesh, United States Commissioner.

The Bureau said that Thompson's identity was established by his fingerprints. The FBI said he was using the name of John Francis Brennan and had drivers' licenses in that name from Illinois and Pennsylvania.

The Bureau asserted that Steinberg also was identified through his fingerprints. It said he was using the alias of Joshua Newberg, had a California fishing license, and a business card showing his occupation as a violin teacher.

Mr. Hoover said both men had social-security cards and the 5 persons arrested had about \$2,000 on their persons.

TRIED TO ALTER APPEARANCE

Mr. Hoover also said both men had tried to alter their physical appearance. He said Thompson had grown a mustache, which he had dyed a strawberry blond along with his hair while his eyebrows were dyed a reddish blond. He had gained about 30 pounds.

The Bureau said Steinberg had lost considerable weight, grown a mustache, and had his hair closely cropped.

The FBI said the cabin high in the Sierras had been rented last June for a 4-month period by the 21-year-old Mrs. Kremen, who was living in the cabin under the name of Mrs. Lee Kaplan. It said that Rasi, 40, one of those arrested with Mrs. Kremen, was a Minnesota party leader who went to New York in 1950 and has been in the Communist underground since 1951.

It said that Coleman had been active in the underground since 1951.

Thompson, slow-talking Grants Pass, Oreg., native, was a member of the National Board of the Communist Party in the United States. He, his wife, and two children lived in Long Island City, N. Y., at the time of his flight.

He is a veteran of the Spanish Civil War, in which he fought in the Leftist International Brigade of the Spanish Republican Army. He also is said to be a decorated veteran of the Pacific campaign of World War II.

Steinberg, a brown-haired one-time butcher and native of Lithuania, was a resident of Jackson Heights, Queens, N. Y. He used the name Sid Stein in connection with his Communist Party work.

STUDIED IN MOSCOW

Thompson joined the Communist Party in Oakland, Calif., in 1933. From 1933 to 1935 he worked for the Continental Can Co. in Oakland, and the Santa Fe Railroad in Richmond, Calif. In August 1935, Thompson went to France and then to Moscow, as a visitor to the Young Communist International Congress.

While in Russia, Thompson worked as a maintenance machinist at the Kaganovich ball bearing plant in Moscow. He also attended courses in Marxism-Leninism. He left Russia in 1937 and went to Spain, where he joined the International Brigade. He was wounded in action and rose to the position of commander of the McKenzie Papineau Battalion. He returned to the United States in January 1938.

Thompson went to New York to work for the Young Communist League in 1941. He served in the United States Army between November 28, 1941, and August 23, 1943, and while a staff sergeant in the Buna, New Guinea, area, he said he had been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross.

Steinberg, who entered the United States under the name of Ovsėjus Sarfsteinas, lived in Worcester, Mass., until 1932. He joined the Communist Party in or before 1936 and became a party organizer in 1942 in New Jersey.

He also was made executive secretary of the Camden County Communist Party and in late 1945 became chairman of the New Jersey State Communist Party. Steinberg also served as a member of the alternate national committee of the party.

The arrest of Thompson and Steinberg left five Communist leaders convicted or indicted on Smith Act violations still eluding FBI arrest.

Two were among the 11 first-string leaders convicted in New York along with Thompson in 1949. They are Gilbert Green, chairman of the Illinois branch of the party, and Henry Winston, national organizational secretary. Gus Hall, who fled at the same time Green and Winston did, was picked up in Mexico last year and returned to the United States and prison.

Three party leaders indicted but not tried on Smith Act charges also are at large. They are Fred Fine of New York, secretary of the party's public affairs department; James Edward Jackson, southern regional director of the party; and William N. Marron, executive secretary of the New York State party.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you give the certificate of birth of your late brother to Robert Thompson?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you obtain a social-security card in the name of John Francis Brennan—

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline—

Mr. MORRIS (continuing). For Robert Thompson?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I am sorry. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, Robert Thompson had the social-security card of John Francis Brennan at the time of his arrest.

Now, did you move from 71 West Boulevard, East Rockaway, on December 23, 1952?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you then move to Albee Road, Nakomis, Fla.?

Senator JENNER. Did you understand the question, Mrs. Blanchard?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I was not sure that he was asking a question.

Senator JENNER. Will you read the question again, please?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you move, after you left East Rockaway on December 23, 1952, to Albee Road, in Nakomis, Fla.?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I offer for the record the photostatic copy of the testimony taken in the United States district court on December 8, 9, and 16, bearing on the arrest of Robert Thompson?

Senator JENNER. What year?

Mr. MORRIS. That is in 1953, Senator.

Senator JENNER. It may go in the record and become a part of the official record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 220-A" and will be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you marry Robert Blanchard at St. Joan's Catholic Church in Jackson Heights, in 1939?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record. Carry that record through.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us what employment you yourself have had?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. You have been a schoolteacher, have you not?

Mrs. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in view of the response of this witness, I have no more questions at this time.

Senator JENNER. Any questions, Senator Watkins?

Senator WATKINS. I have no questions.

Senator JENNER. You will be excused, Mrs. Blanchard.

Mrs. BLANCHARD. Thank you.

Senator JENNER. Call the next witness, please.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Brennan, please.

I am sorry. Mr. Blanchard.

Will you be sworn, Mr. Blanchard, please?

Senator JENNER. Do you swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I do.

Senator JENNER. Proceed, counsel.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT BLANCHARD, NEW YORK, N. Y.; ACCOMPANIED BY LEONARD B. BOUDIN AND PHILIP WITTENBERG, HIS ATTORNEYS

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter, please, Mr. Blanchard?

Mr. BOUDIN. May we wait until the pictures are taken?

Senator JENNER. Just a moment, gentlemen. Take your pictures and then we will proceed.

All right. Thank you very much, gentlemen. Let us proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter, Mr. Blanchard?

Mr. BLANCHARD. Robert Blanchard.

Mr. MORRIS. And your address, Mr. Blanchard?

Mr. BLANCHARD. 50 West 77th Street, New York.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

And you are appearing here with the same two attorneys who represented your wife; is that right?

Mr. BLANCHARD. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. That is Mr. Boudin and Mr. Wittenberg.

Mr. BOUDIN. Mr. Wittenberg and Mr. Boudin.

Senator JENNER. The record stands corrected.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you been a commercial artist for television station WDSU in New Orleans until the last week or so?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer on the grounds that this committee is without jurisdiction, is violating the separation-of-power doctrine in invading the judicial power, on the grounds of my rights under the first, fourth, ninth, and fifth amendments, which the Supreme Court has held to be a shield to protect the innocent, and that this proceeding is a bill of attainder.

Senator JENNER. The witness' refusal to answer the question for the reasons stated will be overruled with the exception of the fifth amendment. This committee recognizes that the witness has a perfect right to use the fifth amendment if his answer might tend to incriminate him. That is acceptable to the committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Blanchard, when did you first hear that the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee was endeavoring to serve a subpoena on you asking your testimony in New Orleans?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, upon learning that the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee was endeavoring to serve a subpoena requiring your appearance before that subcommittee, thereupon evade service?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you been a commercial artist for television station WDSU?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. That is in New Orleans.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the record—

Senator JENNER. Just a moment. I do not think the witness had a chance to answer.

He identified the station in New Orleans. What is your answer?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the record application for employment forms signed by Robert Blanchard for radio station WDSU in New Orleans. I would like to present this to the witness and ask him if this is not his signature that appears thereon.

Will someone show those to the witness, please?

(Documents were handed to the witness.)

Mr. MORRIS. Is that your signature, Mr. Blanchard?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. May that go in the record?

Senator JENNER. It may go in the record and become a part of the official record of this hearing.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 221" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 221

RADIO STATION WDSU

APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

PERSONAL HISTORY

Name: Robert Blanchard. Social Security No.: 061-14-7084.

Address: 813½ Dumaine Street, New Orleans, La. Telephone No.: MA 6349.

Age: 39. Date of Birth: May 16, 1914.

Weight: 165. Height: 5-11. Color of Hair: Brown. Do you wear glasses? No.

Sex: M. Marital Status: Married.

With whom do you live? Dependents, if any: 2.

Mention Physical Defects or Serious Illness during past three years: None.

Name	Address	Occupation
Mr. G. A. Mills	69 West Blvd., East Rockaway, N. Y.....	Writer.
Mr. Wm. Koefoed	Windsor Towers, Tudor City, N. Y.....	Editor.
Mr. Marston Hanlin.....	251 Rocklyn Ave., East Rockaway, N. Y.....	Professor.

Educational record

School	Name and location	Year graduated	Courses pursued, diplomas or degrees received
High school.....	Westboro High, Westboro, Mass.....
College.....	N. Y. S. University, 3 years.....

Business experience

Name, address, and business of employer	Position held	Dates	Salary	Reason for change
Disney Studios, Calif.	Background illus., title design	1941-45	-----	
Fletcher Smith, N. Y. C.	Story layout, background illus.	1946	-----	
Farrell Publishing, N. Y. C.	Editorial layout, spot illus.	1947	-----	
L. I. A. T. I. (Farmingdale, N. Y.) Univ., State of N. Y.	Instructor, design, layout, lettering, etc.	1948-52	-----	
M. M. Robins Adv. Ag.	Art director.	1953	-----	

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. Blanchard?

Mr. BLANCHARD. Quincy, Mass.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. BLANCHARD. 1914.

Senator JENNER. What has been your formal education?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean you will not tell this subcommittee where you were educated?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have a college degree?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you worked for Walt Disney, did you not, the cartoonist, in California, during the 1940's?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you live in Los Angeles County in California, in the early 1940's?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you been a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Blanchard?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you used the Communist Party alias, Bill Brount?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you used the alias, Robert Hamer?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for reasons previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of the Northwest section of the Los Angeles County Communist organization?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for reasons previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you at a time subsequent to 1943 the financial secretary of a branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter, throughout.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now a Communist, Mr. Blanchard?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for reasons stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever meet John Francis Brennan?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know that John Francis Brennan is the late brother of your present wife?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Blanchard, I offer you a photostatic copy of the certificate of death of John Francis Brennan and ask you if you have ever seen this before.

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The question was, have you ever seen that before?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer.

Senator JENNER. I order and direct you to answer the question. I do not believe that the fact that you ever saw the death certificate would incriminate you in any way.

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline.

Senator JENNER. All right. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may that be accepted in the record?

Senator JENNER. It will go in the record and become a part of the official record of this committee.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 222" and is reproduced on a following page.)

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Robert Thompson?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you receive from the Department of Health of New York, statistical information, records of statistical information, about the late John Francis Brennan?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I am sorry. Would you repeat that?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you receive—I mean, this was sent to John Francis Brennan, care of Blanchard, 71 West Boulevard, East Rockaway, Long Island. Now, did you receive that?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for reasons previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I do not know whether it is Mr. or Mrs. Blanchard who received it, but the bureau of vital statistics sent it to John Francis Brennan, 71 West Boulevard, East Rockaway, Long Island, care of Blanchard.

Now, I do not know the first name of the Blanchard who did receive it.

Have you ever had any dealings with Robert Thompson?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you marry Winifred Brennan at St. Joan's Catholic Church in Jackson Heights in 1939?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Blanchard, I wonder if you would not reconsider telling the committee what your formal education has been.

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for reasons previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer that question.

Senator JENNER. I order and direct that the witness answer the question.

Mr. BLANCHARD. I stand on all my objections I previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record. All will be overruled except the witness' use of the fifth amendment, that his answer might tend to incriminate him, which will be accepted.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were employed as a commercial artist for television station WDSU?

Mr. BLANCHARD. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions.

For the record, I would like the record to show that Robert Thompson, after his arrest, was convicted of contempt, and received a 4-year sentence in addition to a 3-year sentence under the Smith Act.

Senator JENNER. Any further questions? Senator Watkins?

Senator WATKINS. No questions.

Senator JENNER. No further questions.

You will be excused, Mr. Blanchard.

Mr. BLANCHARD. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Behrstock.

Mr. Behrstock, will you stand and be sworn, please?

Senator JENNER. Do you swear that the testimony given in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I so swear.

Senator JENNER. Proceed, Mr. Morris.

TESTIMONY OF ARTHUR BEHRSTOCK, BROOKLYN, N. Y.; ACCOMPANIED BY LEONARD B. BOUDIN AND PHILIP WITTENBERG, HIS ATTORNEYS

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter, Mr. Behrstock?

Mr. BOUDIN. May I again request that there be no pictures taken while the witness is testifying, Senator?

Senator JENNER. All right.

Mr. BOUDIN. I see it is going on.

And turn the lights out, also, if you will, please.

Senator JENNER. There will be no pictures taken, gentlemen.

Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Behrstock, will you give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. My name is Arthur Behrstock. The last name is spelled B-e-h-r-s-t-o-c-k. And I live at 60 Hicks Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how long have you lived at 60 Hicks Street in Brooklyn, N. Y.?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Oh, I would say roughly 5 years.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. Behrstock?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Chicago, Ill.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. November 3, 1912.

Mr. MORRIS. And you——

Mr. BOUDIN. Excuse me a second, Mr. Morris and Senator. Is it at all possible to have those lights turned out now that the pictures are taken? They hurt my eyes.

Senator JENNER. Turn the light out.

Is that all right, Mr. Boudin?

Mr. BOUDIN. Yes.

Senator JENNER. All right. Now let us proceed, please.

Mr. BOUDIN. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Behrstock, did you graduate from Northwestern University?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Yes, I did, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

You were interested in literary activities at that time, were you not, while you were an undergraduate at Northwestern?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I was in the department of journalism.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. Did you edit the school paper?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you connected with the school paper at any time?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Yes, I was, a reporter, and stuff.

Mr. MORRIS. And shortly after your graduation from Northwestern, you became a newspaperman in Chicago, did you not?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us what papers you worked for in Chicago?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I think the first—it was a long time ago, but my recollection is that my first job was with the South Town Community Booster, which was a community newspaper in Chicago, and that paper was later absorbed by another community newspaper, the South Town Economist. And I worked as a reporter on both those newspapers.

Mr. MORRIS. And what other newspapers have you worked for in Chicago? Was it the Chicago Herald-Examiner?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Yes, I did, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And any others?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I don't recall at the moment, sir. I may have worked very briefly, but that is my main——

Mr. MORRIS. And that was all prior to 1936 or 1937?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. 1936-37, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

You also worked for the Moscow Daily News, did you not?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Senator, I believe that that question goes into the question of my beliefs and associations, and I would respectfully decline to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, before your ruling on that, I would like to point out that I am not asking any question relating to this man's views. I would simply like to know whether he was actually employed by the Moscow Daily News in Moscow.

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I would like to decline to answer that.

I am sorry, Senator.

Senator JENNER. I think the witness should answer the question. We are not asking about your political views. It is what you did—work.

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I would like to decline under the first and fifth amendments.

Senator JENNER. Let the record show that your refusal to answer under the first amendment is not recognized by this committee, but your refusal to answer under the fifth amendment will be accepted.

Do you really, honestly think that a true answer to that question might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Sir, using the fifth amendment—I am not a lawyer, but I read a key decision which we all read yesterday, that it also serves to protect the innocent and, as I remember the phrase, “from being ensnared by ambiguous circumstances.” I think that was the words that Judge Tom Clark used.

I prefer that phrasing of the Supreme Court, because it has less ominous connotations.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness’ last answer, I would like to offer for the record a copy of *Soviet Russia Today*.

Senator JENNER. Which issue?

Mr. MORRIS. The issue is May 1936. It has an article entitled, “I Visit the Red Army,” by Arthur Behrstock. On the second page of this publication, or page 4, rather under the caption, “Contributors,” there is a statement here:

Arthur Behrstock is a young Chicago newspaperman who was a member of the staff of the *Moscow Daily News* last year. He has just returned from the Soviet Union.

Senator JENNER. What is the date of that magazine?

Mr. MORRIS. That is May 1936, Senator.

Senator JENNER. All right. It may go into the record and become a part of the official records of this committee.

(The magazine referred to was marked “Exhibit No. 223” and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 223

[*Soviet Russia Today*, May 1936, pp. 21, 22]

I VISIT THE RED ARMY

By Arthur Behrstock

It was a warm, pleasant sort of day, and when the truck shoved off from the curb in front of the *Moscow Daily News* office we all felt pretty good. There were about 20 of us, all seated on precarious chairs on the back of the truck. Packed close together and with the sun shining warm on our heads and bare arms, we began to sing and joke and laugh. We were going to pay a call on the Red army; live with them for a day in their camp just outside of Moscow; eat with them, play with them, and talk with them; get to know how they lived and what they thought about; see what the Red army was doing with the men it had gathered under its wings for these few summer months. We weren’t tourists paying a respectful, stiff, and supercilious visit to men who had been called to the colors. We were Soviet workers, and this was, in a sense, our camp, for we of the *Moscow Daily News* had volunteered to give a helping hand in the direction of its cultural life—an example of the “patronage” system, by means of which Soviet organizations give each other friendly help. It must be emphasized, however, that our help was no unilateral affair. The Red army men were also our patrons, supervising our course in marksmanship and, in general, our education in things military.

We were out there to see how our charges were getting along; they wanted to know how things were with us, about America, about New York’s strange, tall buildings that reached up into the stars, about Washington and the New Deal. So, after taking a preliminary stroll though the cool towering forest in which the camp lay, we got down to business. They showed us the latest model machine gun, took it apart, named every detail and explained the principle by which it

worked with a fullness that comes only with a genuine enthusiasm for the subject explained and with that eagerness to receive and impart knowledge which is peculiar to the Soviet Union.

But their love for this superefficient dealer of death did not have the ring of hatred of the professional soldier in it. It was the admiration of a person almost physically in love with modern technique, with this machine which, regardless of the object for which it was produced, did its job efficiently and well. For it is patent to anyone who has encountered even one Red army man that the Red army is an army of peace, of defense, and, what is most important to one interested in the human rather than the political, that love of peace is now as germane to the individual Red Army man, as native to his way of thinking, as love of the soil to a farmer. The Red army man is taught peace and internationalism in the schools, in the Red army itself. He looks upon aggression and offensive war in much the same way that the average Soviet citizen looks upon unemployment: it is not so much cruel as simply beyond his idea of civilized human conduct.

Talk to these men as I have. Yes, they will fight to the last ditch against a war of aggression, but wage one, never. For they are studying in their political classes—in that very Red army camp, too—the causes of wars. So, if and when they must go over the top, they will know why the bayonets are in their hands and the exact reason for the direction in which they are pointed.

That is why, to speak plainly, Herr Hitler is not so much ambitious as simply cockeyed when he thinks that he could actually hold Soviet territory—territory whose people no longer think along capitalist lines, but in the straight Socialist way—even if he did manage somehow to stage a successful war with the aid of a capitalist coalition.

The real extent of his delusion became apparent only later in the afternoon when we and the Red army men, their stocky brown bodies stripped bare to the waist, played volleyball together. When the men offered us the court—with that profusion of honest hospitality so characteristic of the Russian people—when they conversed with us, following the game, on politics, art, and literature, we felt that we had seen the flesh and blood appearance of a type which has for so many years been living only in the shadowy form of a Hollywood hero: the combination of soldier, gentleman, and scholar.

When you feel in your bones, as I did, the warmth and hospitality with which the men gave up game time that must have been precious to them, the charity with which they condoned our well-intentioned boners on the court, their honest regret at our departure for other parts of the camp; when you talk with them and learn that their only desire is to live a busy, constructive, and peaceful life—then you know the type of men of whom this Red army is composed. You know that this is not an army of hardened and boisterous mercenaries, of military robots, or of men fed on the glorification of war, but of men who summarize in themselves all those human qualities which we most value and which we think of as characterizing builders, philosophers, and poets rather than soldiers.

We had our noon meal with the Red army men. Sitting on long, rough boards that lined a long, boarding-house table, we made noisy excursions into the bowls of thick, Russian borsch, the hamburgers, the macaroni. Tea and a cranberry dessert, on the tastiness of which Russians and Americans violently disagree, topped off the meal. It was a filling meal, obviously not designed for sedentary people like us; there was plenty of it, however, and it was, on the whole, tasty.

After we had taken a turn at the shooting range, our escorts showed us into one of the Red Corners, a tent-like structure strewn with newspapers and magazines and decorated by the best available home talent. The simplicity of the building, as contrasted with its rich significance, made many of us feel, I think, that we were at last standing before the Aladdin's lamp that held within it the secret of the Red army; for, if there is one key to the mystery, romance and legend that has sprung up about the Red Army, it is this: education.

I recently read a statement made by a Turkmenian Red army man which illustrates this with almost fairytale simplicity. After explaining why he will fight for the Soviet Union, he tells something of himself:

"All their lives my great-grandfather, my grandfather, and my father herded the landlord's sheep in the Kyzyl-Kum Desert for a handful of rice and a crust of bread. I, too, was a shepherd, a helper of the landlord's dog which watched the herd. None of us ever knew what it meant to read and write. Life was like a black night * * *

"Now I am studying in the Lenin Military School, and will soon become a lieutenant * * *

He was studying, and so were all these Red army men in this camp just outside of Moscow—studying, not only learning how to stick a bayonet into a straw

dummy. Collective farmers who, if the Czar had remained, would still be mere lumps of clay tilling small plots of unfertile soil, whose intellectual life would have been limited to the discussion of fodder for a thin and bedraggled horse—these men penetrate into the mysteries of economics and history, into philosophical concepts, while they take their turn at the shooting range. They study foreign languages, read foreign literature—these big, clumsy peasants with the close-shaven heads and the broad laughing faces. They enter the Red army from the village, unschooled in the ways of modern, efficient agriculture—they return, their heads bursting with formulas for fertilizer, with schemes for crop rotation, and with the painfully memorized parts of the caterpillar tractor.

Their keen interest in politics, their sharp and realistic grasp of the outside world, their intense feeling for art and literature were, however, revealed only at the end of the day, when we gathered in a circle for an informal open forum that took place in a clearing in the forest. Our information wasn't really broad and deep enough to meet the depth and breadth of their questions about the outside world. The questions came slowly at first, after embarrassed intervals of silence and in the hushed voice of men who are afraid that their requests might be foolish, obvious, or irrelevant. But the enthusiasm of our answers—for we were now paying in kind for the information given us—soon bolstered their courage. Then the questions flew at us from all sides. What about Roosevelt? Did he really think—did people really believe—that he was building socialism? Was Romain Rolland popular in the outside world? Had the workers in America begun to develop their own movement in art and literature? Was it true, all that they had read about the Negro? They wanted to know in particular about Admiral Stirling, whose call for a holy crusade of capitalist powers against the U. S. S. R. had just been published in the Soviet press.

The shadows of late afternoon began to fall over the clearing in which we were assembled. But the stream of questions flowed on and on. These men were thirsty for knowledge, for everything that we could give them. But it was time to go. We had one last request. We who had heard the thundering voices of the Red army men marching occasionally through the streets of Moscow demanded that the last advantage of the afternoon be ours: they must sing for us. Their singing was not the accidental combination of good natural voices, but showed the strength and depth that comes from careful choral training. The Red army, it seems, is a school of music.

As we raced along the highway on our way back to the city, we all felt pretty good, but it wasn't particularly because the Red army men had been "very nice," or the camp "very beautiful" or our escorts "very obliging." It was something much more stimulating than a simple good time—the sharp clear pleasure of meeting something real and dreamt about but never encountered. We had met, to put it in its broadest terms, soldiers being educated to peace and for a useful life, and an army organized only for defense. And these one does not encounter every day.

Mr. MORRIS. I ask Mr. Mandel if he will not read several passages from that particular magazine.

Senator JENNER. Proceed, Mr. Mandel.

Mr. MANDEL. This is an article from Soviet Russia Today, May 1936, beginning on page 21, entitled "I Visit the Red Army," by Arthur Behrstock. I read excerpts from that:

We were going to pay a call on the Red army; live with them for a day in their camp just outside of Moscow; eat with them, play with them, and talk with them; get to know how they lived and what they thought about; see what the Red army was doing with the men it had gathered under its wings for these few summer months. We weren't tourists paying a respectful, stiff, and supercilious visit to men who had been called to the colors. We were Soviet workers, and this was, in a sense, our camp, for we of the Moscow Daily News, had volunteered to give a helping hand in the direction of its cultural life.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Behrstock, did you write that?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I would like to respectfully decline to answer that under the grounds specifically stated, while also calling to the committee's attention that that was written about 20 years ago when I was about 20 or 21 years old.

Senator JENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I respectfully decline under the grounds previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Behrstock, perhaps it may refresh your recollection if you saw the article, which is now being offered to you.

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I would like to give the same answer, again reiterating that I was 20 or 21 years old.

Senator JENNER. The same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. May that go in the record?

Senator JENNER. Yes, it may go in the record and be made a part of the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Behrstock, what was some of your later employment after you returned from Moscow?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Among the places I worked were a number of jobs. I worked for the Hearst paper in Chicago, as I previously stated. I was a publicity man for the Walgreen Co.,

Mr. MORRIS. The Walgreen Co.?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. The Walgreen Drug Co. And I have done free-lance work for a number of leading corporations of the country in the way of sales training material and publicity material, such companies as Calvert, White Rock, International Silver Co., Thom McAn shoe chain, and I guess what you would call blue-chip companies. I mean, I did these free-lance jobs for them.

Mr. MORRIS. You were in the armed services; were you not?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what your service was in the Armed Forces?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. First I would like to point out that before I was drafted for the Army, I attempted to enlist in the Marines. I think the recruiting office will show that record, that I was turned down because of my eyesight. I wanted to be a combat correspondent, and my eyesight turned me down.

However, I was finally drafted, and I entered the Army as a private in the Medical Corps, in Camp Grant, Ill., and then I was transferred to a camp in Washington. I forget the name now. And I worked as a typist, a very mechanical job, and I was then recommended for officer candidate school.

I don't want to gild my own lily, Senator, or Mr. Morris, but I still say that it was strongly suggested that in view of the fact that that I was a newspaperman, I should apply for administrative school, and I voluntarily chose the Infantry. I am not trying to make any heroics for myself. I am just trying to tell you that for whatever it may be worth.

I graduated from the Infantry Officers' School and was sent to an Infantry replacement depot, and then I was assigned to the 66th Infantry Division as a rifle platoon leader, and I served there, and again, I might say—this a record that my rating as an officer was always "superior."

Senator JENNER. That is as high as you can get; is it not?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I think so, sir.

I was then sent overseas to New Guinea to a replacement depot, where I was supposed to have gone into the invasion of Leyte as a rifle platoon leader replacing an Infantry officer.

At that time, as I understand it, the Psychological Warfare Branch was then just being formed, and I was in a replacement depot near Buna, and they put a hold order, or stop order, on anybody who had had any writing experience whatever, and I may also say, since I have a very deep feeling about my period in the Infantry, that I was very torn about accepting an assignment, and almost tried to persuade the personnel officer not to accept it.

At any rate, I then went to the Psychological Warfare Branch, and there I worked as a writer of leaflets, surrender leaflets, and things of that kind, the usual propaganda stuff.

I might also say, Senator, there that my work was supervised, very closely supervised, by two officers, Col. J. Woodall Green and Gen. Bonner Fellers, who commended me very highly and actually recommended me for various awards.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, after your military career, you served in a civilian capacity, did you not, with the Defense Department?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Yes. I guess you would—

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what your title was?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. What is that?

Senator JENNER. Tell us your title.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us your title.

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I was head of the Planning Section of the Civil Information and Education Section in Tokyo.

Senator JENNER. I see.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what was the nature of that job? What were your duties in connection with that particular assignment?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I am trying to recall as best I can, Mr. Morris. Things were pretty hectic and not completely organized in the occupation. In the main, my job was to scan the Japanese press and to inform my superiors, Colonel Green and General Fellers, what the Japanese press was saying. I myself don't read Japanese, but it was done by translators, and I simply edited it.

Then we were kind of an omnibus section for any complaints that the millions of people had. They were all kind of routed into my particular section. If they weren't getting enough food, or somebody beat them up or something, we would make a report on it and then route it to the appropriate section for action.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Behrstock, were you a Communist at that time when you held that position?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Senator and Mr. Morris, I would like to answer that question but I must respectfully decline to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. You became a member of the board of directors of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy in 1947; did you not?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. The same answer, with the same grounds, Mr. Morris.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, is there a citation by the Attorney General of that particular organization?

Mr. MANDEL. The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy is cited on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations recently issued, a consolidated list recently issued.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been employed by the Daily Worker, Mr. Behrstock?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Excuse me just a moment. I will get a glass of water.

Mr. MORRIS. Surely.

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I respectfully decline to answer under the same grounds that I had previously stated.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what other employment you had after you left the Planning and Operations Division of the Army?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Well, for that following period, as I said, I was free lance, doing free-lance publicity and free-lance writing, and I did work for the companies that I had previously stated.

Senator JENNER. Whom do you work for now, Mr. Behrstock?

Mr. BOUDIN. Could we—I think this matter came up in executive session, Mr. Morris. I know Senator Jenner was not there until the end.

Senator JENNER. I was not at the executive session, at the beginning.

I withdraw the question.

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Behrstock, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I decline to answer that under the same grounds, sir.

Senator JENNER. The same record, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. MORRIS. Is your first wife now in Moscow, to your knowledge?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Senator, I have no knowledge. I haven't heard from or about my wife for, at the very least, 15 years.

Mr. MORRIS. But when you last saw her, she was in Moscow; is that not right?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Yes. But that I want to say was 15 or 18 years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Now, you have remarried; have you not?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I have, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And who is your present wife? Her first name is Miriam; is it not?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Yes; her name is Miriam.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was her maiden name?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Miller.

I should say, Senator, I would be very glad to give you her maiden name and her first name, but I do feel that the relationship between a husband and wife is the relationship between a husband and—

Senator JENNER. I am not asking you anything in regard to the relationship. I am just asking you what her name is.

Mr. MORRIS. And I had a reason, Mr. Behrstock. Bear with us, please. It is a fact that we require for our record.

Now, do you know a man named Bernard Rubin?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. I decline under the same grounds.

Senator JENNER. The same record.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Sylvia Powell, the wife of John Powell?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. No, sir, I do not.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know a Japanese Communist called Susumo Okano?

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. That name isn't familiar to me, Mr. Morris, at the moment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions of this witness at this time. However, there are more questions we will have to ask in executive session at some other time——

Mr. BOUDIN. All right, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. In view of the nature of the trend that the hearing took today. And I think if you will stay under subpoena——

Mr. BOUDIN. Surely.

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Yes.

Mr. BOUDIN. Thank you.

Senator JENNER. Just a moment.

Senator Watkins, do you have any questions?

Senator WATKINS. No.

Senator JENNER. At this time, then, you will be excused. You will remain under subpoena, and our counsel will be in touch with your counsel when we need you again.

Mr. BEHRSTOCK. Thank you very much.

Mr. BOUDIN. That will be agreeable.

Senator JENNER. If there are no further witnesses, the committee will stand in recess.

Mr. MORRIS. Tomorrow, Senator, we have two witnesses scheduled. One is Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

Our evidence indicates to us that he has been the district organizer of the Communist Party in New Orleans.

And in a separate hearing which we have scheduled, we will have a repeat appearance of Mr. Yuri Rastvorov, and the continuation of his testimony, Senator, at 10:30 tomorrow morning.

Senator JENNER. Until 10:30 tomorrow, we will stand in recess.

(Whereupon, at 11:20 a. m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10:30 a. m., Thursday, April 12, 1956.)

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a. m., in the caucus room, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland and Welker.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and William A. Rusher, administrative counsel.

Chairman EASTLAND. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

Remain standing, please.

Chairman EASTLAND. Hold your hand up, please.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give to the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. O'DELL. I do.

Chairman EASTLAND. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF HUNTER PITTS O'DELL; ACCOMPANIED BY MILTON FRIEDMAN, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS. Give your name and address to the reporter, please.

Mr. O'DELL. My name is Hunter O'Dell.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you sometimes known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell?

Mr. O'DELL. Yes; that is right.

Chairman EASTLAND. Now, you photographers are in between the witness and the committee. Take your pictures now.

That will be all, gentlemen. You will have to stand to the side. You cannot get between the witness and the committee.

Now proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your address to the reporter?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to give my address.

Mr. MORRIS. You decline to give you address on what grounds?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline on the grounds that the previous residence that I have lived at, and haven't lived at for quite some time—I see that the residence is pictured here in the paper in New Orleans as if it is an invitation for some one to destroy the house or something. Here is on the front page of the paper an arrow pointing to the side that I

live in, and I know for a fact that this is part of the committee—the committee is in collusion with this. The press has been saying that——

Mr. MORRIS. Just a minute, please.

As you know, about 3 weeks ago the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, upon receiving evidence that you were the district organizer and the person who was giving directions to the professional group of the Communist Party in New Orleans—the subcommittee endeavored to subpoena you, and we had information, persistent information, which came from the United States Marshal's office that you had been continuously evading service of the process.

In fact, when Mr. Arens, William Arens, who was trying to serve process on you, appeared in the business place where you were working, he had subsequently been informed that you were present while he was trying to serve the subpoena.

Now, consequently, after the subcommittee turned over the problem of trying to locate you to the United States Marshal, the New Orleans police, working in conjunction with the United States marshal, went to a residence which apparently was a former residence which you seemed to have abandoned, and there, there were quite a few pamphlets, Communist Party directives, and considerable Communist Party literature. Your own personal handbooks were found by the New Orleans police and turned over to the subcommittee.

Now, if you are prepared to answer questions about it, I am prepared to ask the questions of you now.

Mr. O'DELL. I would like to have counsel—I would like to confer with counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you consult with counsel?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you try to evade process?

Mr. O'DELL. I most certainly did not.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not. Were you in the——

Mr. O'DELL. And I would like, since this has all been brought out—I would like to make a statement here that is important, if you don't mind.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, just a minute——

Mr. O'DELL. A prepared statement of one page——

Mr. MORRIS. I wish you would just answer a few questions here, and if you wish to make a statement, the chairman will rule on that.

When did you first learn that the subcommittee was trying to serve a subpoena on you?

Mr. O'DELL. I would like to make a statement first that would clear that up.

Chairman EASTLAND. No. Answer his questions, and if you desire to make a statement, then we will consider it.

I order you to answer the question.

Mr. O'DELL. I can't say exactly when I first learned it. I think it was about Friday night.

Mr. MORRIS. What Friday night?

Mr. O'DELL. This past weekend.

Mr. MORRIS. You certainly knew that before. It was in all the newspapers at least a week prior to that, was it not?

Mr. O'DELL. People save newspapers for me, and I see here the picture of the former residence that I had, that I lived in and haven't lived in for quite some time.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you leave that——

Mr. O'DELL. This was old when I got this.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you leave that residence?

Mr. O'DELL. Oh, I have been away from that residence for weeks.

Mr. MORRIS. And you left all these Communist Party directives and all these written handbooks on the premises when you left that?

Mr. O'DELL. Well, I decline to answer that question. No; I decline to answer that question about the literature.

But I have a statement to make.

Chairman EASTLAND. On what grounds do you decline to answer the question?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline on the grounds that the question tends to incriminate me or seeks to incriminate me, and under the provisions of the fifth amendment, I am not supposed to testify.

Mr. MORRIS. Could you tell us where you have been in the last 2 weeks?

Mr. O'DELL. Where I have been——

Mr. MORRIS. In the last 2 weeks, while we have been trying to serve a subpoena on you.

Mr. O'DELL. Why are you interested in where I have been?

Mr. MORRIS. We are trying to determine whether or not you have been evading process service.

Mr. O'DELL. But I have stated that I did not evade service.

Mr. MORRIS. We are trying to determine—you have given a conclusion. Now, we do not want to just abide by your conclusion. We would like to know what you have been doing and we would like to make a determination of whether or not you have in fact been evading process.

Mr. O'DELL. It seems to me that that is an invasion of my rights as just a person. If you want to know every move I have made for the last 2 weeks, I don't see what that has got to do with the internal security of the country. I said I was not evading a subpoena, and I was not, and I have a statement here to that effect, and I would like to read it.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell me this. When did you first work in the Holsum Cafeteria?

Mr. O'DELL. I can't say definitely; so I decline to answer that.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give us your best estimate of when you last worked there?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that.

Mr. MORRIS. On what grounds?

Mr. O'DELL. On the grounds that the question tends or is directed toward incriminating me.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you in that restaurant when Mr. William Arens, of this committee, appeared there in order to serve a subpoena on you?

Mr. O'DELL. In what restaurant?

Mr. MORRIS. The Holsum Restaurant, or Holsum Cafeteria.

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question on the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, our information is that at the very time when Mr. Arens was in the Holsum Cafeteria trying to effect service on this witness——

Mr. O'DELL. I will have to consult with my attorney——

Mr. MORRIS. That he was there.

Chairman EASTLAND. Go ahead, Mr. Counsel.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you present when a representative of this committee was trying to effect service on you?

Mr. O'DELL. I have already answered that question.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer it under the provisions of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, under what name did you work at the Holsum Cafeteria?

Mr. O'DELL. Before we proceed with the question, I would like to read this statement.

Chairman EASTLAND. Now, wait just a minute. You are to answer the questions. This is an investigation.

Mr. O'DELL. Well, I understand that it is an investigation, and that is precisely why I have prepared a statement for this investigation. Will I be allowed to read it?

Chairman EASTLAND. Now, answer the questions, and I will just consider the statement when Judge Morris concludes his questions.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Chairman, our information is—and we received this on the scene—that this witness, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, was working in the Holsum Cafeteria as Ben Jones, and because he was operating there under the name of Ben Jones, he was able to deceive the process server, and we were not able to effect service.

Now, were you working at the Holsum Cafeteria under the name of Ben Jones?

Mr. O'DELL. If I understand correctly, you have already placed that question to me, and I declined to answer it under the provisions of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you also move about under the name of John Vesey?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, one of the reasons that we have had difficulty serving this witness has been that we have now learned that he has been operating under three separate identities. We have found a social-security card that was presumably his, made out to John Vesey, and another one made out to Ben Jones, and as we know now, his name is Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

Mr. O'DELL. I would like to know——

Mr. MORRIS. Just a minute, please.

Mr. O'DELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to offer you two social-security cards—each one bears a separate number—and ask you if in fact these are your social-security cards.

(Two social-security cards were handed to the witness.)

Mr. O'DELL. First of all, I want to ask, where did this come from?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, is it your social security——

Mr. O'DELL. I would like to know where it came from.

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer his question.

Mr. MORRIS. They were found on the premises that you abandoned, at which you have testified that you no longer live. They were found

there by the New Orleans police and they were turned over to the subcommittee.

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer this. I mean, you say they were found? I am not sure they were found. Maybe they were placed there, because it seems to me that you are trying to——

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer his question.

Mr. O'DELL (continuing). To build up a case here.

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer his question.

Mr. O'DELL. And I am answering the question, Senator Eastland.

Chairman EASTLAND. If they were placed there, say whether or not they were yours.

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that under the fifth amendment.

Chairman EASTLAND. On the fifth amendment. I will order those cards turned over to the Department of Justice.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I also have here withholding tax statements from Holsum Cafeteria, 718 Gravier Street, New Orleans, which have been made out in the name of Ben Jones, 3370 Louisa Street. Now, we have been informed by the Holsum Cafeteria that this witness worked there under the name of Ben Jones.

I show you these withholding tax statements and ask you if in fact they are your withholding tax statements.

(Documents were handed to the witness.)

Mr. MORRIS. What is your answer?

Mr. O'DELL. What is the question?

Mr. MORRIS. Are they your withholding tax statements?

Mr. O'DELL. You say you got it from a cafeteria?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. O'DELL. Well, you got it from a cafeteria.

Mr. MORRIS. I did not get those from the cafeteria. I received the information from the cafeteria that they were yours.

Mr. O'DELL. Oh, I decline to answer that.

Mr. MORRIS. These were found in the room that you abandoned. Now, are they in fact yours?

Mr. O'DELL. You say these were taken from the room—I didn't abandon the room. Let's get that straight. I moved because I wanted to move. It had nothing to do with any subpoena. I have not abandoned any room.

Now, the second thing is, you say these things were taken from the room?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Benjamin Mandel, research director of the subcommittee, has been sworn, as were the two officials of the New Orleans police. I think that if we ask Mr. Mandel—I would like Mr. Mandel to testify on that particular point.

Chairman EASTLAND. I want him first to answer the question.

Mr. O'DELL. Well, it is stated here that these slips were taken from a room where I used to live.

First of all, I would like to know who authorized this committee or the police or anybody——

Chairman EASTLAND. Now, answer——

Mr. O'DELL (continuing). To take anything out of the room in which I recently lived. That is the question.

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer his question.

Mr. O'DELL. But what I want to know is, isn't there a fourth amendment in this country? Doesn't it apply to this committee?

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer his question.

Mr. O'DELL. I thought the fourth amendment said something to the effect that illegal search and seizure was illegal under the Constitution. Now you are coming in with all this, talking about, that is my social-security card found in my room. Why did you take it out of my room? Or why did you have the police take it out of the room? It seems to me that you should answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, please, will you answer the questions? Now, what is your answer?

Chairman EASTLAND. Mr. Counsel——

Mr. O'DELL. I am going to consult with my counsel.

Chairman EASTLAND. He can consult with the counsel only when he requests it.

Mr. O'DELL. I wish to consult with my counsel.

Chairman EASTLAND. All right. You may do that.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. O'DELL. Under the fourth amendment of the Constitution, which you seemingly have violated here if you claim that you took something out of my room which you were not authorized to take, and under the fifth amendment, which protects a person from self-incrimination, I am refusing to answer this question.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in view of the reluctance and the inability of the witness, for the reasons he stated, to answer questions on this particular aspect of the inquiry this morning, I ask that I be able to go into the substance of the interrogation at the time.

Chairman EASTLAND. Yes.

Mr. O'DELL. Mr. Chairman, before the counsel——

Chairman EASTLAND. Wait just a minute.

Mr. O'DELL (continuing). Goes into the substance——

Chairman EASTLAND. Wait just a minute.

Mr. O'DELL. I want to make a statement.

Chairman EASTLAND. I know you do, but you are to answer questions.

Mr. O'DELL. Before the counsel goes into the substance of the statement, as he says, I would like to read the statement that I have.

Chairman EASTLAND. I have told you that at the proper time we would take that under consideration.

Mr. O'DELL. What do you consider a proper time?

Chairman EASTLAND. Wait just a minute, now.

Mr. O'DELL. You should be taking it into consideration now.

Chairman EASTLAND. Yes; I am the judge of that.

Do you want to go ahead, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. Mr. Mandel, will you identify these exhibits that we will now put into the record?

Mr. MANDEL. The social-security cards presented and the withholding statements made out to the name of Ben Jones and John Vesey were turned over to me by Sgt. Hubert Badeaux, of the New Orleans police. He in turn received them from the patrolman on duty, from the premises at 2319 Louisiana Avenue, New Orleans. I was there also.

We interviewed the landlady, and she told us that she was about to throw all this literature out, because it was abandoned.

So it was taken over by the New Orleans police and turned over to us, to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, for study and these cards, or these blanks, were part of those papers.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Chairman EASTLAND. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. You attended Xavier University; did you not?

Mr. O'DELL. Mr. Chairman—just a minute. I have a comment to make on this recent testimony.

Chairman EASTLAND. Wait a minute now. You can answer questions.

Proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, if you want to make some comment about what Mr. Mandel has testified to—

Mr. O'DELL. Yes. He claims that the police took this out of a room that I left, moved from, and it was turned over to the committee. But it is not the committee's property. And so I think that it is fitting at this time that the committee turn it over to me, since you say—

Mr. MORRIS. Is it yours?

Mr. O'DELL. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Is it yours?

Mr. O'DELL. Whatever you say was left in the room that I abandoned, I want to see if it is mine, because I did leave some books there. I left a library there.

Mr. MORRIS. If you left them there, as your counsel knows, we will return these things to you if you can identify them as yours.

Now, have you attended Xavier University?

Mr. O'DELL. Let me consult with my counsel.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. O'DELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How many years have you attended Xavier University?

Mr. O'DELL. About 2 years.

Mr. MORRIS. What courses have you taken there?

Mr. O'DELL. I took pharmacy, chemistry, biology.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you enrolled there now?

Mr. O'DELL. No.

Mr. MORRIS. When were you last enrolled at Xavier University?

Mr. O'DELL. Oh, about 1944.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not obtain a degree, however?

Mr. O'DELL. No, I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you been the Communist district organizer in New Orleans?

Mr. O'DELL. State that question again.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been the Communist district organizer in New Orleans?

Mr. O'DELL. I would like to read a statement here before we proceed with further questions.

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer the question. It is a simple question.

Mr. O'DELL. Yes, it is a simple question, and this is a simple statement. I want to read it.

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer the question.

Mr. O'DELL. I would like to ask why I can't read this statement, then. Maybe it will clear up, and maybe there will be a lot of questions that won't have to be asked if I read this statement.

Chairman EASTLAND. I have told you time and time again that you will answer Judge Morris' questions, and I will take the statement under advisement.

Mr. O'DELL. Under advisement? I am not asking you to take a statement under advisement.

Chairman EASTLAND. Yes. I know you are not.

Mr. O'DELL. I am asking you for the right to read a statement. If you can put out all this material in the papers that you are hunting for me and all this stuff, why can't I read a simple statement, if it is important enough?

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer the question.

Read the question, Mr. Reporter.

Mr. O'DELL. I am today appearing before the Eastland—

Chairman EASTLAND. Wait just a minute.

Read him the question, Mr. Reporter.

(Question read by the reporter.)

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment.

Now may I read the statement, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I point out the difficulty about this particular statement? It was not submitted to the committee in conformance with the 24-hour rule, in the first place. In the second place, I asked him a question about the first sentence in the thing, and he has refused to answer under his privilege under self-incrimination. So the witness is in an inconsistent position if he wants to read a statement into the record while under oath and refuses to answer any questions about the specific details thereof.

For instance, you say here:

Upon returning to New Orleans last weekend after visiting with friends in the country.

Now, where were you last week, prior to the weekend?

Mr. O'DELL. I don't think that is any of the business of this committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, it certainly is the business of this committee.

Mr. O'DELL. On what ground?

Mr. MORRIS. We are trying to determine whether or not you evaded the process of this subcommittee.

Mr. O'DELL. I said I did not evade it. That is sufficient.

Mr. MORRIS. We will have to have the facts so that we will be able to make a judicial determination of this fact.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that he refuses to answer specific questions about the opening sentence in the statement, and together with the fact that he has not complied with the 24-hour rule, which is a well-known rule, I suggest that the witness not put that unsworn statement into the record.

Chairman EASTLAND. We will take that under advisement.

Mr. O'DELL. I wish to consult with my counsel.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. MORRIS. What is the answer?

Mr. O'DELL. What is the question?

Mr. MORRIS. Read the question to the witness, please.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not think there is a pending question.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now the district Communist Party organizer in New Orleans?

Mr. O'DELL. That question was asked previously and answered previously.

Mr. MORRIS. I ask you that question again.

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been the Communist Marine organizer on the Gulf coast?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, on September 24, 1954, did you attend the Southern Regional Convention of the Communist Party in New York City?

Mr. O'DELL. State that question again.

Mr. MORRIS. On September 24, 1954, did you attend the Southern Regional Convention of the Communist Party in New York City?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in the year 1950, did you attend the New York Communist Party leadership school, which was under the direction of a gentleman named Al Lannon?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Al Lannon?

Mr. O'DELL. Why are you interested in who I know? Now, what is this? An inquisition? Do you want me to sit down and list everybody that I know?

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Al Lannon?

Mr. O'DELL. I don't think that that is pertinent to anything. What are you trying to do? Ask me, do I know personal friends or something?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman——

Chairman EASTLAND. I order and direct you to answer the question. It is very pertinent.

Mr. O'DELL. I think I should read this statement here——

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer his question, please.

Mr. O'DELL (continuing). Before further questions——

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer his question, please.

Mr. O'DELL. I mean, I have no intention of stating who I know and who I don't know. I don't see that that is pertinent to this hearing at all. That is a violation of the——

Mr. MORRIS. What is your answer?

Mr. O'DELL. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. What is your answer?

Mr. O'DELL. My answer is that I decline under the fifth amendment to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Now, in the year 1955 did you attend the Communist Party leadership school in Baton Rouge, incognito?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Let me take the "incognito" off. Did you attend the Communist Party leadership school?

Mr. O'DELL. The question is the same. I decline to answer it.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Now, have you ever attended any leadership school incognito?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer it under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in 1952 did you order all Communist Party members subject to your discipline not to register in compliance with the State law requirements?

Mr. O'DELL. I don't know what you are talking about.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you give orders to subordinates of yours in the Communist Party not to register and comply with State laws that compel registration?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question. And I want a word with my counsel.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you work in Fort Lauderdale—

Mr. O'DELL. I am still consulting with my counsel, if you don't mind.

Mr. MORRIS. Pardon?

Mr. O'DELL. I am still consulting with my counsel.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. O'DELL. With respect to one statement you made a little bit before these questions, you stated that my statement here is unsworn. But I am ready to swear to this statement. So that is not valid that it would not be read into the record.

Mr. MORRIS. The only trouble with that is that—

Chairman EASTLAND. Ask him the question. Let us not argue with the witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you answer the last question, please?

The Chairman has directed that you answer the last question.

Mr. O'DELL. What is the last question?

Mr. MORRIS. Is there a question pending, Mr. Friedman?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I do not think so.

Mr. MORRIS. No; I started the question.

The question is, did you work in Fort Lauderdale in the summer of 1953 at the Hideaway Bar & Grill?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Paul Robeson?

Mr. O'DELL. I don't know what you mean by, "Do I know Paul Robeson?"

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have your picture taken with Paul Robeson in Florida?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you been active in the Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union?

Mr. O'DELL. I don't see where this is pertinent to the question. In the first place, my associations, union and otherwise, is my right, and recognizing—

Mr. MORRIS. Also recognizing the duty of this subcommittee to determine what they are.

Mr. O'DELL. Just a minute—

Mr. MORRIS. Now, please answer the question, will you?

Mr. O'DELL. I am answering the question. And since the chairman of this committee is part of the movement known as the Citizens Council, which has declared war literally against the labor movement, I don't feel as though—

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer the question.

Mr. O'DELL (continuing). This line of questioning has but one objective, and that is to try to link everything up, you know, and regard this labor movement as being subversive.

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer the question, please.

Mr. O'DELL. So I decline to answer the question.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Now, in the summer of 1954—

Chairman EASTLAND. He declined on what grounds?

Mr. MORRIS. On what grounds?

Mr. O'DELL. On the ground of the fifth amendment, and also on the ground that the chairman of this subcommittee is an antilabor representative, who, as I said before, is part of a movement that has declared the whole labor movement subversive, and obviously the line of questioning here is to tie everything together.

Mr. MORRIS. That is a completely irresponsible statement, and I wish you would try to answer the question.

Mr. O'DELL. No; it is not an irresponsible statement. Last summer in Memphis, Tenn.—

Mr. MORRIS. Now, wait a minute. Will you stop talking?

Mr. O'DELL. What do you mean, stop talking? I have as much right to talk here as you. What are you? Some kind of dictator or something? I am making a statement here, and I intend to finish it.

Mr. MORRIS. The question I am putting to you—

Mr. O'DELL. I heard the question you put to me, and I am answering the question.

Mr. MORRIS. You are not answering the question.

Mr. O'DELL. I am answering the question. You want to know on what grounds I declined to answer the previous question, and I said, in addition to the fifth amendment, on the ground that the chairman of this committee is an antilabor representative who has declared war literally on the labor movement and is trying to term the thing subversive.

Chairman EASTLAND. Wait just a second. You have said that thing several times, and the record shows it.

Now proceed, Judge Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you in the summer of 1954 work in the Spillway-Harding Airfield in Baton Rouge?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask this witness questions about Communist Party directives which were found in the room in which he said he had formerly lived.

Mr. Mandel, will you produce exhibit 10 of our record, which is described as a directive to all districts, dated November 4, 1954, signed, "Comradely yours, National Organizing Commission of the Communist Party"?

I show you this directive so described and ask you if you have ever seen that before.

Mr. O'DELL. Where did that come from?

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever seen it before?

Mr. O'DELL. Where did that come from?

I don't know whether I have seen something like that before or not.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman—

Chairman EASTLAND. You are ordered—

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel has identified this as among the papers which were turned over to the subcommittee by the New Orleans Police Department, and it has been marked in our record as "Exhibit 10."

Mr. O'DELL. Are you under oath now?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, who testified——

Mr. O'DELL. I thought you said "O'Dell."

Mr. MORRIS. Answer the question.

Mr. O'DELL. So the question is what?

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever seen that before?

Mr. O'DELL. I don't know whether I have seen it or not. So I will have to decline to answer under the fifth amendment. I don't know whether I have seen this before.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you received directives from the National Organizing Commission of the Communist Party——

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS (continuing). In your capacity as the district organizer in New Orleans.

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Is this one of the directives that you did receive from the National Organizing Commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'DELL. On one hand you ask me, did I; on the other hand you are saying that I did.

Mr. MORRIS. There is a question put to you. Please answer the question.

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer the question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Mandel, may I ask you to produce exhibit 15 in our record, which has been identified, Mr. Chairman, as Proposals of Southern Party Organization, 1955-56? And this is proposals for Communist Party organization, southern party organization, registration, party building, cadres, mass education, press, literature, finances, club plans, and the outline for industrial concentration clubs.

It is a very full directive, Mr. Chairman. It speaks for itself. It was found on the premises we have been talking about, and I want to know whether this has been handled by the witness here today.

(A document was shown to the witness.)

Mr. O'DELL. This committee still hasn't cleared up for me on what grounds it has violated the fourth amendment of the Constitution and invaded people's homes and taken things out of their house, library, and so forth.

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer his question, please.

Mr. O'DELL. And if you say that this was found on it, I would like to know how you got into possession of it.

Chairman EASTLAND. You can answer the question now.

Mr. MORRIS. I might add, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. O'DELL. What about my question being answered?

Mr. MORRIS. Please. I might add, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Mandel and the police officers have fully testified, and the testimony is all in our record as to how these statements came into the record.

Chairman EASTLAND. That is in our record.

Mr. MORRIS. I suggest to you that you look at the record and you will have the full story.

Now, have you received proposals of Communist Party superiors on southern party organization, that has just been described by the subcommittee?

Mr. O'DELL. The same answer that I gave to the previous question. I decline on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Mr. Mandel, I ask you to produce exhibit 18, which is described as notes on 1956, dated December 1, 1955, which is a detailed plan of organization on the part of the Communist Party to take care of the Southern organization for that organization.

Would you show it to the witness, please?

(A document was shown to the witness.)

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that on the same grounds, in addition to the fact that any question with respect to how people, what right the committee has to go into people's homes and take their private library, has not been answered.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, I ask you if you will produce exhibit 73, which is entitled, "Common Program Made Public by the Southern Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the United States."

Now, have you ever seen that before?

Mr. O'DELL. Have I ever seen a copy of the Worker?

Mr. MORRIS. Of that particular copy of the Worker.

Mr. O'DELL. What is this? An inquisition, on what people are allowed to read?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. O'DELL. You want to know if I saw a copy of a newspaper, huh?

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer his question, please.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, 375 copies of this particular Worker, which is an undated copy were found in a room which had been occupied by this witness. It is the Common Program Made Public by the Southern Regional Committee of the Communist Party, and we are presuming, Senator, that this man was in the work of promulgating this particular program.

Now, if our presumption is wrong, I wish you would tell us. Have you been promulgating and disseminating the program that is publicized in that undated Worker that is now before you?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend the conference that is described therein?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, I call your attention to exhibit 99, which is a publication of the International Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties, containing directives of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is dated January 20, 1956.

I present that to you and ask you if you have seen that before.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. O'DELL. Would you mind repeating the question again?

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever seen that before?

Mr. O'DELL. Seen what?

Mr. MORRIS. I described it and I presented it to you. It is, for your information, the directives of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Mr. O'DELL. This article on the plan for the development of the national economy? Is that what you are speaking of? Because that was quoted in the Times-Picayune, and the New York Times and a number of newspapers throughout the country.

Mr. MORRIS. Don't you find in there the directives of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Mr. O'DELL. Yes. The directives of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the sixth 5-year plan for the development of the national economy of the U. S. S. R. from 1956 to 1960.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you ever seen that before?

Mr. O'DELL. Yes; I have seen this before, certainly.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, have you ever endeavored to translate those directives into your own Communist Party organization in New Orleans?

Mr. O'DELL. I will consult with my counsel.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. O'DELL. With respect to your question regarding my connections with the Communist Party, I have already stated that I refuse to answer that under the fifth amendment.

But now, the whole idea of translating that is ridiculous. That is a statement that is printed in English. It is a newspaper. If I can read English, it doesn't require translating.

Mr. MORRIS. I do not mean translate it. I mean, verbally translate it.

Mr. O'DELL. All right. That is literally——

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Have you tried to apply them to your own organization?

Mr. O'DELL. To what organization?

Mr. MORRIS. To whatever organization you belong to.

Mr. O'DELL. I don't know what you mean by "apply." That is a newspaper. You read an article on the draft directives——

Mr. MORRIS. These are directives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Did you read those directives?

Mr. O'DELL. Why don't you read the whole thing, on the development of the national economy?

What has that got to do? You can read that in the New York Times, the Times-Picayune, newspapers all over the country. What do you mean?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you apply those directives to your work?

Mr. O'DELL. I don't have any work that would require applying any directives. I don't know what you are talking about.

Mr. MORRIS. Is your answer, "No," that you did not apply those directives to your own work?

Mr. O'DELL. I have no work that would apply any directives. I have no such work.

Mr. MORRIS. In your work of organizing Communist cadres in the South?

Mr. O'DELL. I have never said that. You are saying that.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been organizing Communist cadres in the South?

Mr. O'DELL. You asked me that question before, and I have already answered it. Now, why are you continuing to ask it?

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been applying those directives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to your work of organizing Communist cadres in the South? That is the question.

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you get exhibit 21, which is addressed to all districts, entitled, "Dear Comrades," dated February 3, 1955, signed, "Comradely yours, Martha Stone?"

Will you show that to the witness, please?

Mr. Chairman, it is very obvious that these are all directives of the Communist Party organization which were directed to this man in his capacity as district organizer of the Communist Party in New Orleans.

(A document was shown to the witness.)

Mr. MORRIS. What is your answer?

Mr. O'DELL. If this was taken from my library, the first thing is that it is another example of the fact that you have violated the fourth amendment of the Constitution in going in and invading my library and stealing it, and the second thing is that as far as that applying to me, I am not answering under the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you identify for the record Martha Stone?

Mr. MANDEL. Martha Stone was convicted under the Smith Act recently. She is a leader of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Martha Stone?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel—

Mr. O'DELL. And again, I want to say that who I know and who I don't know is not a matter of subversion whatsoever.

Chairman EASTLAND. Well, it is—

Mr. O'DELL. In other words, my personal friends are my personal friends. I am not interested in who Eastland knows, although I know he knew Bilbo very well. He was his junior partner.

Chairman EASTLAND. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, will you get exhibit 118, please?

Mr. Mandel, will you describe this exhibit 118?

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 118 is a handwritten page of a notebook.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. I offer that to you, Mr. O'Dell, and ask you if that is a page from your notebook.

(A document was shown to the witness.)

Mr. O'DELL. I want to consult with my counsel.

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. O'DELL. Under the fourth amendment, protecting a person from unlawful search and seizure, and under the fifth amendment, which protects me from self-incrimination, I am refusing to answer that question that you placed.

Mr. MORRIS. May I have a ruling, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman EASTLAND. Yes. I order and direct him to answer the question.

Mr. MORRIS. You uphold his claim of privilege under the fifth and denied under the fourth?

Chairman EASTLAND. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Is this your handwriting here?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that under the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to read from this handwriting:

The object of security today is to conceal from the enemy the function of the party apparatus. Previously we concealed individual whereabouts as well as the function of the apparatus.

Now, have I correctly stated what appeared in your handwriting or what appears to be your handwriting, in a notebook taken from your premises?

Mr. O'DELL. (No response.)

Mr. MORRIS. The reason I say that is that one point is the function of "P" apparatus. Now, we are presuming that "P apparatus" is "party apparatus." If it is not, would you correct us?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. When you refer to the enemy there, whom do you refer to?

Mr. O'DELL. I don't know what you mean, by who do I refer to.

Mr. MORRIS. It is your handwriting; is it not?

Mr. O'DELL. I have declined to answer the previous statement, the previous question that you raised, with respect to, is it my handwriting.

Mr. MORRIS. I am asking you if you wrote that. And you refuse to answer; is that right? I am asking you, in connection with that, is the enemy that you refer to therein, or that the paper refers to therein, considered to be the FBI?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Exhibit 122, Mr. Mandel.

Mr. Chairman, I have here some notebooks that purportedly belong to the witness here today. I would like to offer them to him and ask him if they are in fact his, and if they are in his handwriting.

(Some documents were shown to the witness.)

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer the question you placed, under the fifth amendment.

However, on the previous question, the one before that, would you repeat it?

Mr. MORRIS. What was it generally about?

Mr. O'DELL. That is all right. Never mind.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, one of these is entitled "Newspapers," and you have the expression "Irv-La. Weekly."

Will you tell us who "Irv" was on the La. Weekly paper?

Mr. O'DELL. So again you are asking me who I know, and so forth.

Mr. MORRIS. Remember, our evidence is that you are the district organizer. We have here what appears to be contacts of yours under code names, or some kind of cryptic names, and this subcommittee is trying to determine the relationship of these people with you, who are the district organizer of the party.

Mr. O'DELL. Under the first, fourth and fifth amendments of the Constitution, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is "Walt" on the Chi. Defender?

Mr. O'DELL. The same thing.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is "Elaine" on the "Pitts. Courier"?

Mr. O'DELL. My answer is the same.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is "Monica" on the "Cath. Action" of the "S" at 523 Natchez Street?

Mr. O'DELL. My answer is the same.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is "Arabella-Courier"?

Mr. O'DELL. My answer is the same.

Mr. MORRIS. And who is "JU-Advocate and Ethyl News"?

Mr. O'DELL. My answer is the same.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I think all the exhibits that are of interest to the committee are in the record.

I think asking this witness to supplement the information or the evidence we have, in view of his answers today, would consume valuable time of the subcommittee.

We have another witness, and I suggest that with the introduction by Mr. Mandel of a few more documents into the record, as well as an introduction of his handwritten signature which he applied to a voucher of the subcommittee this morning——

Chairman EASTLAND. Mr. Counsel, he must request to confer with you.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. There is no question now, Senator. That is the only reason I am consulting with him.

Chairman EASTLAND. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. I have one other question of you. Have you written any speeches for Louisiana candidates for public office?

Mr. O'DELL. I understand that Senator Eastland is interested in that question. That is one of the things that he raised in the hearings back in New Orleans.

Perhaps he is afraid, you know, that I might——

Mr. MORRIS. Answer the question, please.

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer his question.

Mr. O'DELL (continuing). White Citizens Council; the fact that he is an enemy of the Negro people, and an avowed one, raises——

Chairman EASTLAND. I never heard of such a thing that he asked. Now, if he has information——

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I might say that the committee has received evidence and information to the effect that this man has been writing speeches for certain people who have been running for public office in Louisiana.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we are keeping the names of those people from the public record, but I do want to ask this man, by way of verifying our information, whether or not you have in fact been doing such a thing.

Mr. O'DELL. What is the matter? Is Eastland afraid that the people might get to know him, and know what he is, if I wrote some speeches?

Mr. MORRIS. What is your answer?

Chairman EASTLAND. Will you answer the question?

Mr. O'DELL. I don't know that I think that that is pertinent. If I write a speech, I don't know what that has got to do with the national security, for a speech that is written has got to be delivered somewhere, and if it is delivered, it has to be delivered publicly if a man is running for candidate for office.

So what has that to do with internal security? It seems as if Mr. Eastland is trying to cloak himself in some way.

Is that the reason he asks that?

Chairman EASTLAND. Answer the question, please.

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that. You know that.

Chairman EASTLAND. On what grounds?

Mr. O'DELL. On the grounds, first of all, with respect to my associations, protected by the first amendment, and on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Chairman EASTLAND. Fifth amendment.

Any further questions?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mandel has some exhibits I would like to offer for the record at this time.

Mr. Mandel, will you describe the exhibits?

Mr. MANDEL. First of all, I would like to put into the record the signature of Mr. Hunter Pitts O'Dell for purposes of comparison with other samples of his handwriting.

Chairman EASTLAND. That will be admitted.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 224" and will be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. MANDEL. Secondly, the biographical data from the War Shipping Administration and the Coast Guard.

Mr. MORRIS. May that be admitted, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman EASTLAND. Yes.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits 225, 225-A, 225-B, and 225-C" and read as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 225

APRIL 4, 1956.

Received of the Certifying Unit, Marine Inspection Office, United States Coast Guard, 310 Customhouse Building, New Orleans, La., the seaman personnel file on Hunter Pitts O'Dell, bearing file number 22696.

JOHN E. LANNE,
*Agent, Police Bureau of Investigation,
New Orleans Police Department.*

(Telephone No.: GA 4161, Ex. 209 and 207.)

EXHIBIT No. 225-A

WAR SHIPPING ADMINISTRATION,
RECRUITMENT AND MANNING ORGANIZATION,
New Orleans, La., July 9, 1943.

UNITED STATES COAST GUARD,
*Merchant Marine Inspection Office,
Room 309, Customhouse Building, New Orleans, La.*

GENTLEMEN: Will you please issue seaman's papers to Hunter O'Dell, for the rating of messman, providing he passes the required examination.

This applicant will be placed aboard ship as soon as the proper certificates are issued.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours very truly,

C. W. SANDERS,
*Gulf Coast Regional Representative,
Recruitment and Manning Organization.
By J. N. PERTESS.*

Mr. MANDEL. Now, an examination of the documents taken from Mr. O'Dell's apartment at 2319 Louisiana Avenue disclosed publications from nine different foreign countries, including Communist China, London, Brussels, India, the Soviet Union, and there were a number of publications of the Foreign Languages Publishing House at Moscow.

There were also publications of the World Federation of Trade Unions. That is just a summary of those that were found.

Mr. MORRIS. They are already in the record, are they not, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. The references are already in the record; yes.

Then there were publications of a number of Communist front organizations.

EXHIBIT No. 225-B

NO. 1 (1943)

UNITED STATES COAST GUARD

RECORD OF PHYSICAL EXAMINATION OF AN APPLICANT FOR RATING AS FOOD HANDLER ON MERCHANT VESSELS OF THE UNITED STATES

Office of Merchant Marine Inspectors,

Port of NEW ORLEANS, LADate July 10, 1943 1943To the Medical Officer in Charge,
U. S. Public Health Service (or Registered Physician of the State of LOUISIANA)SIR: Please examine Hunter Pitts O'Dellnativity Michigan; age 19; height 5 feet 7 inches;distinguishing marks Mole on left leg.

to determine whether he is free from communicable disease.

When the examination has been completed the findings are to be recorded on this form and the form returned to the applicant, if he is physically competent. If the seaman is physically incompetent, mail this form to the Merchant Marine Inspectors.

Respectfully,

James B. Cobb

MERCHANT MARINE INSPECTOR IN CHARGE

Merchant Marine Inspectors.

(Signature of applicant) Hunter Pitts O'Dell

(To be signed in the presence of the officer issuing this blank)

Place

Date July 10, 1943 1943To the United States Coast Guard,
Merchant Marine Inspectors,Port of NEW ORLEANS, LA

GENTLEMEN:

This certifies that I have this day examined the physical condition of Hunter Pitts O'Delland find him physically incompetent to handle food on merchant vessels of the United States.

Respectfully,

Hunter Pitts O'Dell
(Signature of applicant)
(To be signed in the presence of Medical Officer)James B. Cobb
Sergeant United States Public Health
or Registered Physician of the State

EXHIBIT No. 225-C

200-719-11 (Name of Seaman—Print only)

Book No. _____
 C. I. No. _____
 Port of _____
 Date _____

O'Dell Pitts Hunter
 (Last name) (Middle name) (First name)

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
 UNITED STATES COAST GUARD

22698

SEAMAN'S CERTIFICATES
 (Application to be made out in duplicate)

Number and street 6404 Scott St.
 City or town Detroit
 State, Territory, or D. C. Michigan

TO THE COMMANDANT, UNITED STATES COAST GUARD.

SIR:

I hereby apply for a Seaman's

Continuous Discharge Book ☐
 Certificate of Identification ☒
 Certificate of Efficiency as Lifeboatman ☐
 Certificate of Service as Seaman ☒

Age 19 Born 11 August 1923 at Detroit, Michigan
 (Day) (Month) (Year) (City) (State or country)

Height 5 ft. 7 in. Weight 140 lb. Color of hair Black Color of eyes Brown

Complexion Colored Sex Male Color Colored

Name, relationship, and address of next of kin. Father: George O'Dell
1213 N. East 3rd Ave., Miami, Fla.

Proof of citizenship submitted Birth Certificate, Detroit Dept. of Health, (If a naturalized citizen, State of Michigan, Division of Vital Statistics
 state place and date naturalization papers were issued, together with file number

If not naturalized, and declaration of intention has been filed, state place, date, and file number of intention papers

If an alien, state place and date of payment of head tax

Seaman's Protection Certificate, number, date, and place of issue

Applicant now in possession of the following certificates (Itemize all licenses, showing grade, and certificates, such as Able Seaman, Lifeboatman, etc., giving date, place, and number of issue of each)

PENALTY FOR VIOLATION

Commission with intent to unlawfully use, or uses or exhibits a certificate to which he is not lawfully entitled, or forges, or steals such a certificate, or unlawfully has in his possession any blank certificate, or any of the above, shall be liable to a fine of not more than \$5,000 or imprisonment

10-38870-1

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, these are already in the record; are they not?

Mr. MANDEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, should we go into these further? As Mr. Mandel points out, there were considerable Communist Party literature and directives from foreign countries. I will ask the question if you think it is necessary.

Chairman EASTLAND. I do not think so.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no further questions.

Mr. O'DELL. Senator Eastland, I would like to read my statement now. I am sure you have had time to consider it.

Chairman EASTLAND. Wait just a minute. Your statement is a personal attack on the chairman, for which I care nothing.

Mr. O'DELL. No; my statement is a statement of fact under oath. It is not a personal attack.

Chairman EASTLAND. I understand.

Mr. O'DELL. I don't attack you personally, Senator Eastland.

Chairman EASTLAND. Wait just a minute please. It is an attempt to drag this investigation afield.

Now, I am not going to admit the statement.

Mr. O'DELL. As far as I am concerned, this investigation may be an attack on me, by the very fact that you want to know who my associates are, and so forth.

Chairman EASTLAND. I am certain you think so.

Mr. O'DELL. Yes; I certainly do.

Chairman EASTLAND. I am not going to have a controversy about it.

Mr. O'DELL. No; I don't want a controversy.

Chairman EASTLAND. Wait just a second.

Mr. O'DELL. All I want is to read this statement. I don't want a controversy. I would like to read a statement.

Chairman EASTLAND. Wait a minute, please.

Mr. O'DELL. I am not asking for a controversy.

Chairman EASTLAND. Wait a minute, please.

We have one more witness. For security reasons, that witness cannot be heard in this room. We are going to take a 5-minute recess, and the witness will be called in room 424 in this building.

You may stand aside.

Mr. O'DELL. Before we recess, may I read my statement?

Mr. MORRIS. You are excused.

Chairman EASTLAND. I have answered that.

Mr. MORRIS. You are excused from further testimony.

That is an open hearing in room 424, and the witness is Mr. Rastvorov.

(Whereupon, at 11:25 a. m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 11:30 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, the same day.)

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

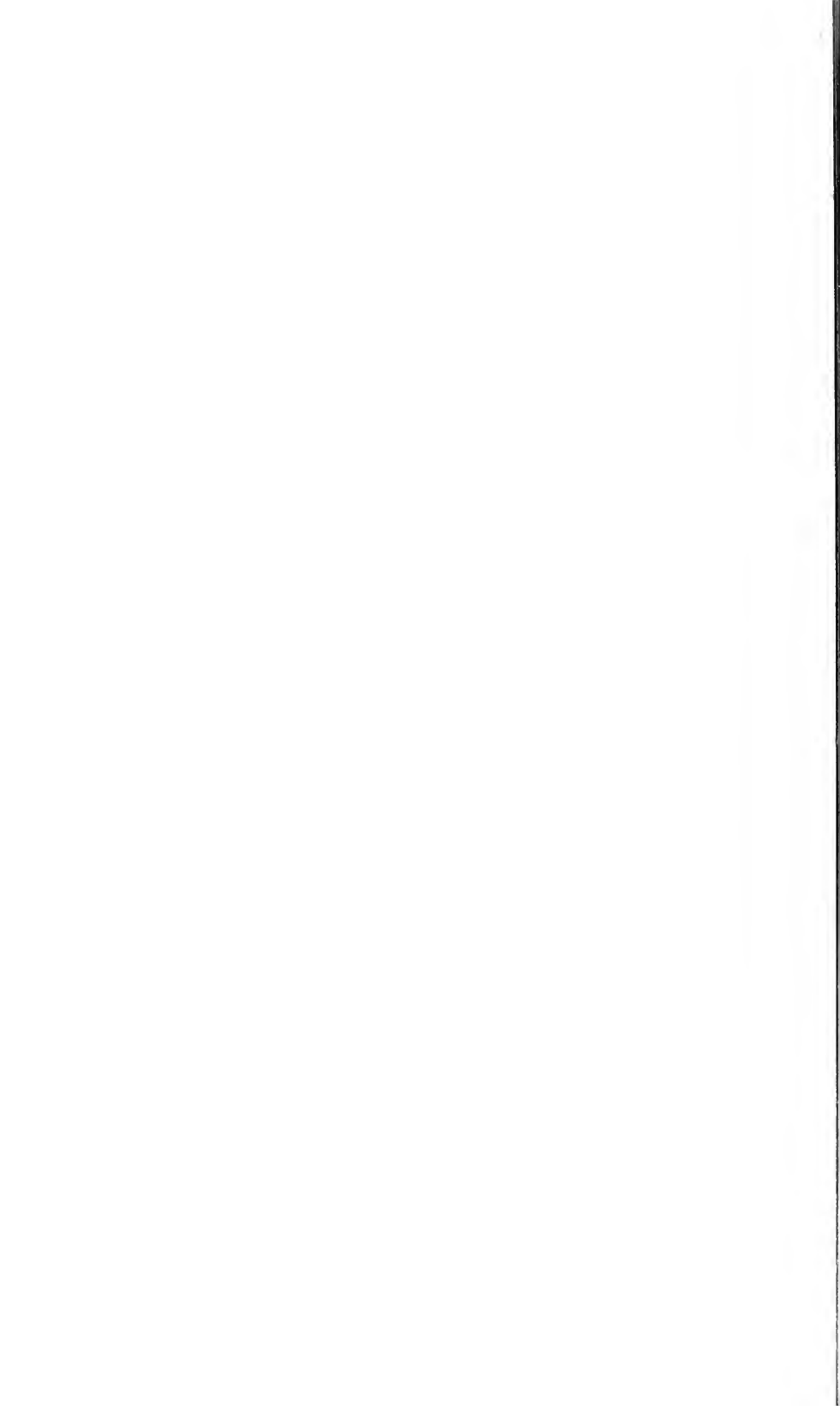
APRIL 12, 1956

PART 14

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a. m., in the caucus room, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland and Welker.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and William A. Rusher, administrative counsel.

Chairman EASTLAND. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

(The O'Dell testimony appears in full in part 13, pp. 755 ff.)

Chairman EASTLAND. We have one more witness. For security reasons, that witness cannot be heard in this room. We are going to take a 5-minute recess, and the witness will be called in room 424 in this building.

(Whereupon, at 11:25 a. m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 11:30 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, the same day.)

Chairman EASTLAND. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you bring the witness in and close the door, please?

The rule is that there will be no photographers allowed.

Chairman EASTLAND. The hearings of the Internal Security Subcommittee to date have revealed extensive Soviet activity in the United States under the cover of the Amtorg Trading Corp., Tass News Agency, and VOKS. The extent and the nature of this Soviet activity has been shown from the testimony of Soviet defectors and from the hearings at which American citizens employed by those agencies have appeared.

With the tendency that is becoming more pronounced toward more frequent exchanges of cultural, economic and religious groups between the Soviet governments and the nations of the free world, it becomes increasingly more important to analyze the underlying nature of the Soviet delegations involved.

The witness today who will testify on this activity is Mr. Yuri Rastvorov, who is appearing for the second time before the subcommittee.

Please call your witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out that when this witness first agreed to testify, he asked the subcommittee that we protect his identity, and for security purposes, not allow any photographs of himself to be taken. And we assured the witness that that precaution would be taken by the subcommittee, and for that reason, photographers have been asked not to be present during the testimony of Mr. Rastvorov, nor to take his picture coming to or going out of the committee hearing room.

Mr. Chairman, before getting on to the testimony of this witness, I would like to offer, in connection with yesterday's hearings, a New York Times report on two top Red fugitives, captured by the FBI in a Sierra hideout.

May that be made part of the Blanchard testimony?

Chairman EASTLAND. Yes, sir.

(The material referred to above appears in a previous volume at p. 737.)

Has he been sworn?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you be sworn again for the purposes of this hearing, Mr. Rastvorov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Chairman EASTLAND. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give the Internal Security Subcommittee is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I swear.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF YURI RASTVOROV

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, at the last testimony, you were trying to recall the name of the NKVD man, or the MVD man, who was among the Russian representatives to the United Nations, the Soviet representatives to the United Nations. Have you recalled his name?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. His name is Alexander Titov.

Mr. MORRIS. And will you tell us, when did you know him?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, Titov is employee of the Intelligence Service of the Soviet Union. He worked during the war in China many years, and came to the United States under the cover of employee of the Soviet Section of the United Nations Organization.

Mr. MORRIS. What name did he use under that cover?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He used all the time his true name, Titov.

Mr. MORRIS. Titov, T-i-t-o-v?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And when was he last in the Soviet delegation to the United Nations, to your knowledge?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, approximately a year ago he arrived in the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what has been your experience with him? Have you known him personally?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, I know him personally. I worked with him in the same outfit in Moscow, headquarters.

Mr. MORRIS. The same outfit being the Soviet Secret Police—

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Which we have referred to as the MVD or the NKVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; MVD, we call it.

Can I smoke, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman EASTLAND. Of course.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the last time, when we were listing the chief resident agents of the Soviet Security Police in the United States, in making the listing we overlooked one name that Mr. Rastvorov gave us in executive session, and that is Mr. Gromov.

Was Mr. Gromov one of the chief resident agents of the Soviet Secret Police in the United States?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; approximately the first year after the war, I think.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to put into the record at this point in the hearings some testimony taken in the past which indicated that Mr. Gromov did work with Americans who have been revealed by the record to have been active in Soviet espionage in the United States. I would like Mr. Mandel to read it into the record so that the context will be taken in connection with the testimony of Mr. Rastvorov today.

Mr. MANDEL. I read from the testimony of Elizabeth Terrill Bentley before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on July 31, 1948.

She says:

Then they proposed to set me up in another little organization, either in a travel business or what-not, in some large town—

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, "they" refers to her Soviet superiors?

Mr. MANDEL. That will be made clear as I go along. [Continuing:]

and they would give me other government contacts to take over.

Mr. MUNDT. Who do you mean by "they"?

Miss BENTLEY. The Russians.

Mr. MUNDT. Can you name those Russians?

Miss BENTLEY. The only Russian whose real name I know was the first secretary of the Russian Embassy, and I did not know that until much later on, after I had ceased seeing him.

Mr. MUNDT. He talked with you personally in trying to induce you to continue this espionage?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, because they had tried to bribe me and had tried all sorts of tricks on me. They finally brought in their highest man to see what he could do.

Mr. MUNDT. What was this man's name?

Miss BENTLEY. Anatole Gromov, G-r-o-m-o-v.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Rastvorov, is that the same Mr. Gromov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I would like to add that Gromov is not his true name, and I have forgotten his true name, but I probably will tell it to you later when I remember his true name.

After returning from the United States, he was the chief of American Section in MVD headquarters.

Mr. MORRIS. Chief of the American Section in NKVD headquarters in Moscow?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that the same Anatole Gromov who was the first secretary in the middle 1940's?

Mr. RASTVOROV. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. You say that is correct?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything else there, Mr. Mandel, that should be in the record?

Mr. MANDEL. She describes how she met him, and further details.

There is further testimony before the House committee by Lauchlin Currie on the same individual, which I will read, from page 857 of these hearings:

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever meet Anatole Gromov of the Russian Embassy?

Mr. CURRIE. I met him at a social occasion and was entertained at his house on one occasion.

Mr. STRIPLING. You met him at a social occasion? Where was that?

Mr. CURRIE. As I recall, it was in the latter part of 1944 when I was introduced to him at a luncheon in the Hay-Adams in Washington.

Mr. Currie continues:

Mr. STRIPLING. Who gave the luncheon?

Mr. CURRIE. Mr. Luther Gulick.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you identify him, please?

Mr. CURRIE. He was an official of the War Production Board, and what his official position was at that time, I cannot recall.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall the year or the date?

Mr. CURRIE. I think it was shortly after this luncheon, he invited my wife and me to dinner, and we accepted. He was introduced to me as the First Secretary of the Russian Embassy in charge of cultural relations. There was nothing in the conversation as I recall that would be inconsistent with that description.

He made no efforts to draw me out. There were no leading questions, as I recall. The conversation generally was on cultural matters on which he was a very well-informed person.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Gromov was a colonel of MVD at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. When you knew him, or at that time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. I knew him as a colonel.

Mr. MORRIS. And you say when you last heard of him, he was the head of the American section of NKVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. He was head from 1948 to my departure from Moscow in 1950.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, could you tell us who Maj Gen. G. G. Karpov is?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Major General Karpov, he was the head of the so-called religion section in MVD Headquarters. Simultaneously, he occupied the post of chairman of religion committee of Council of Ministers of U. S. S. R.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you repeat that?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Chairman of the religion committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Religion committee?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Of Council of Ministers of U. S. S. R.

Mr. MORRIS. Council of Ministers of the U. S. S. R.?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what was his rank? In what service was he working?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He was appointed as chairman of the religion committee in, I think, 1942.

Mr. MORRIS. 1943.

Mr. RASTVOROV. During the war.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he working for the military police, or Soviet Security Police?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. Not military; just MVD.

Mr. MORRIS. MVD. That is the security police?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; so-called counterintelligence directorate, MVD.

Mr. MORRIS. Counterintelligence?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was he given this post as chairman of the religious committee in connection with his service in the NKVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Now, would you describe the function of that particular role that he was performing?

Mr. RASTVOROV. As you know, the church in the Soviet Union is not independent, as, at the present time, the Soviet Union Government is trying to prove. It is completely dependent on the state, and the state conducts all activities of the church in the Soviet Union.

Moreover, they not only conduct activities of the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union, penetrated by MVD agents——

Mr. MORRIS. You say it is penetrated by MVD agents?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. It is, I think, worthwhile to stress that at the end of the second war, when——

Mr. MORRIS. World War II?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, the second war. [Continuing]. When the Government permitted the Orthodox Church to operate more freely, the church organized seminaries, I think 1 or 2, and a couple of people—not a couple, but many people—from MVD headquarters were sent to the seminaries as students.

Mr. MORRIS. Were they sent as students or sent to superintend the students?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No. They sent officers, counterintelligence officers, to these seminaries, and later they became bishops in many churches in the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, they were sent as seminarians?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And actually, they were members of the Soviet Security Police?

Mr. RASTVOROV. They were members; they were officers of MVD, pure counterintelligence officers in MVD.

Mr. MORRIS. And you say later on they became bishops?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, before getting into that, I would like to ask you particular questions about that. Could you describe Major General Karpov's role? You said he was chairman of the religious committee?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Could you tell us what the function of that particular committee was, particularly the role of the chairman?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, they handle the church affairs in the Soviet Union, in other words. As I explained before——

Mr. MORRIS. Is he in charge of church affairs?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; in the church, the so-called liaison, you know, the office between church and government, but practically they keep the church under complete control, and he is the chairman of this religious committee, simultaneously, because, practically speaking, the MVD conducts all activities, you know, against church.

Mr. MORRIS. And in that position, is he able to exert an opinion on the Russian Church?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. In that position, is he able to exert an influence over the Russian Church?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Oh, yes; of course.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you explain that, please?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I don't know how to explain to you, but the church depended on the Government of the Soviet Union. And I just don't know what to add to this.

(The following material was later received for the record as Exhibit No. 226 and ordered into the record at this point.)

EXHIBIT No. 226

(Excerpt from *Empire of Fear* by Vladimir and Evdokia Petrov,¹ pp. 97, 98)

The overriding need for national unity in those desperate and critical days induced Stalin to bid for the positive support of even the religious leaders. With curious and characteristic cynicism he arranged a conference in the Kremlin, to which he invited the robed and bearded patriarchs and all the important dignitaries of the Russian Orthodox Church. At the conference there was also a certain Karpov. Now Karpov was a permanent career officer of the NKVD, who, over a long period, had made an assiduous and exhaustive study of Russian Orthodox ceremonies, ordinances, and theological teaching, and was able to converse earnestly and learnedly with the church dignitaries on their own ground. At this conference Stalin suggested that the character and erudition of Karpov made him an ideal man to represent the church on the Soviet Council of Ministers. His suggestion was applauded, and Karpov was appointed.

I have seen Karpov. In 1951 he was Minister for Cults and Religious Affairs and may still hold that office. His NKVD training would be a valuable preparation for the post. After all, Stalin studied in a theological seminary.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you personally, in your own experience as an NKVD officer, have any—were you ever assigned to do any work in infiltrating the Russian church?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; when I was in Japan the first time in 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us about it, and at this point, confine your testimony to your own personal experience in that particular episode?

Mr. RASTVOROV. In 1946, the Soviet Government, through the MVD channels, tried to subordinate the group of Orthodox worshippers in Tokyo, which consists of White Russians and emigres. And for this purpose, the chief of the intelligence group—

Mr. MORRIS. Would you repeat that, please? You say in Tokyo, in 1946, the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church in Japan were Russian emigres?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Mr. RASTVOROV. And after the death of Bishop Sergei, Nikolai Ono—

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Nikolai Ono.

Mr. MORRIS. O-n-a?

Mr. RASTVOROV. O-n-o.

Mr. MORRIS. O-n-o?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; was appointed chief of Orthodox Church in Japan.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, who appointed him?

¹ Vladimir Petrov was resident agent of MVD in Sydney, Australia, under cover of third secretary of the Soviet Embassy, and his wife was a cipher clerk when they defected, April 3, 1954, and asked political asylum from the Australian Government.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, it was the wishes of the orthodox worshipers of the church.

Mr. MORRIS. In Japan?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. They appointed him to be head of the Orthodox Church in Japan, that is, Ono?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

And at that time, the Government of the Soviet Union, using church for propaganda purposes and for intelligence purposes, did their best to send to Japan, from Moscow patriarchy, two Soviet priests as the head of this Orthodox Church in Japan.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you say, Soviet leaders in Moscow——

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And this you know from your own knowledge?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes——

Mr. MORRIS. Just a minute. May I just make a résumé there?

You say that the Russian leaders endeavored to send two Russian priests to be in charge of the Orthodox Church in Japan?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know their names?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I don't know their names, but because Karpov, who is, as I mentioned before, chairman of religion committee and chief of religion section of MVD, was in charge of this operation.

Mr. MORRIS. He was in charge of this particular operation?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Of this particular operation.

Mr. MORRIS. And you know that from your own experience in this particular operation?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. And Colonel Vashkin——

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. RASTVOROV. V-a-s-h-k-i-n.

Mr. MORRIS. Colonel Vashkin?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. He directly participated.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, who was he? Was he an NKVD officer?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He was the chief of the intelligence group in Tokyo at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Vashkin. What was his first name?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Ivan.

Mr. MORRIS. Ivan. He was chief of the intelligence group in Japan at that time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you say he participated directly in this effort to take control of the church?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about it?

Mr. RASTVOROV. And part of these worshipers in the Orthodox Church in Tokyo were pro-Soviet, and he negotiated with one of the men who belonged to this group of people by name of Bilayev.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. RASTVOROV. B-i-l-a-y-e-v.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, who was he?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He was one of the members of the Orthodox Church, and was very active in religion affairs there. He was musician teacher there at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. He was a music teacher?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; a music teacher.

Mr. MORRIS. But active in church affairs?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, does he work for the security police?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. Vashkin tried to persuade the people to accept these two priests through this man, through Mr. Bilayev, and particularly, myself, I took a couple of times Mr. [Blank] to the meeting with this man by name of Bilayev, at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. You met with him personally?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Were these open meetings, or were they secret meetings?

Mr. RASTVOROV. They were secret meetings.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us what happened at these meetings?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well——

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Welker.

Mr. RASTVOROV. I can't say exactly the details of these meetings, but it was meetings concerning the affairs with sending to Japan two orthodox priests, Soviet priests.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were present?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Mr. Vashkin persuaded Bilayev to influence on people, worshipers of Orthodox Church, to invite his men by, so-called, their own wish. But fortunately——

Mr. MORRIS. The plan was to have at meetings Vashkin and Bilayev and yourself——

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You planned to have General Karpov send over two Russian priests who would be able to control the Russian Orthodox Church in Japan?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you took part in these plans?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, exactly.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us what happened to these plans?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Fortunately, the worshippers of the Orthodox Church, the majority of the people, were against this, and their plan failed, not only because the people were against this idea, but also because the occupation forces in Japan at that time didn't permit to enter these two priests in Japan.

Mr. MORRIS. You think the American occupation forces prevented the two priests from coming into the country?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Occupation forces.

Mr. MORRIS. The American occupation forces?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Not only the American, but the so-called Allied forces.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. They prevented the Russian priests from coming into the country?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And did the plan fail?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How did it terminate?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, this plan failed——

Mr. MORRIS. Did it end in a lawsuit or anything?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, Mr. Vashkin, after returning home, wrote a big report about this past operation——

Mr. MORRIS. He wrote a report back to General Karpov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And then what happened?

Mr. RASTVOROV. But I don't know the result. Practically, no action was taken against Mr. Vashkin and against Mr. Karpov at that time, because the Government at that particular time was more interested in affairs with the Western democratic countries.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you tell us in executive session that it ended up in a lawsuit?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Pardon me?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you tell us in executive session that it ended up in a lawsuit?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No, I don't think so.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the record an article that was written by Georgi Gregorovich Karpov, who was described as chairman of the council for the affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, which appeared in the Daily Worker in New York, April 3, 1949, under the title, "The Truth About Religion in the Soviet Union."

I think that would be appropriate at this point in the record.

Chairman EASTLAND. It will be admitted.

(The article referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 227" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT NO. 227

[Daily Worker Magazine, p. 7, April 3, 1949]

THE TRUTH ABOUT RELIGION IN THE SOVIET UNION

By G. Karpov, chairman of the council for the affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church

Since its establishment, the Soviet Union has been the victim of calumny and slander. Most vicious of all are the lies about the persecution of the church and the prohibition of religious worship. Here are the facts of the matter.

Moscow.—Along with the other civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of the U. S. S. R., the full freedom of religious worship is enjoyed by the people of the U. S. S. R.

The attitude of the socialist state toward religion and the church is clearly expressed in article 124 of the constitution: "In order to insure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the U. S. S. R. is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

In defining its attitude toward the church, the main concern of the Soviet Government has been to insure full freedom of conscience.

That freedom of conscience does exist in the U. S. S. R. is best demonstrated by the fact that the church is separated from the state, by the fact that this separation is complete—not as in some capitalist countries which boast of laws providing for freedom of conscience and religious worship, but in which religion actually serve as a weapon of class and national oppression, countries in which religious organizations are employed to further the policy of "the great ones of the earth."

NO FREEDOM UNDER CZARISM

In czarist Russia—prior to the October Socialist revolution of 1917—there existed no freedom of conscience and no freedom of religious worship, despite the Government manifesto of April 17, 1905, on strengthening the principles of religious tolerance. The orthodox creed enjoyed a position of predominance. The Orthodox Church, as represented by the holy governing synod and its head, the procurator of the synod, was part and parcel of the government machinery. All other creeds were merely tolerated. They were kept under surveillance by the

Department for Ecclesiastical Affairs of Foreign Creeds, which was under the direction of the Ministry of the Interior. Conversion from one religion to another—except conversion to the orthodox religion—was made extremely difficult.

The tsarist autocracy had powerful support in the pulpit, in the church school, and in the church censorship, all of which preached humiliation and obedience to the powers that be.

Atheists were subjected to special persecutions.

The progressive section of the population regarded the situation as highly deplorable and strove for the establishment of freedom of conscience and the separation of church from state.

As a matter of fact, the position the Orthodox Church held in the state was prejudicial to the church itself as a religious organization. The most farsighted and progressive among its leaders were of the opinion that it would be better for the church itself to be free from dependence on the state, free from the latter's control.

With the establishment of the Soviet system in Russia, the existence of a state church came to an end, and real freedom of conscience and genuine religious tolerance were introduced.

On January 23, 1918, the decree on the separation of the church from the state and the school from the church was promulgated. It was signed by V. I. Lenin.

Under that decree, church property, such as real estate, and enterprises which were operated for profit, were nationalized. Church buildings and objects especially intended for religious service, however, were turned over to the religious congregations or associations, for permanent use free of charge. The registration of births, marriages, and deaths ceased to be a church function. Citizens were accorded the right to profess any religion or none at all.

The separation of the church from the state was accepted by church members as a positive development, because it relieved the church of secular state functions which are out of keeping with its character.

In his preface to the book, *The Truth About Religion in Russia*, published by the Moscow patriarchate in 1942, Metropolitan Sergius wrote:

"The Soviet Government's decree on freedom of conscience and freedom of religious creeds has removed a burden which the church bore for many years, has relieved it from outside tutelage. This has been of immense usefulness in the internal life of the church. The decree accords freedom, and guarantees the inviolability of this freedom, to all religious associations. It is a great boon for our Orthodox Church that it is no longer dominating, and in this respect no longer restricts the religious conscience of other creeds as it did when it served as a lever of the autocratic power."

Irrespective of religious views, every citizen in the Soviet Union is guaranteed the enjoyment of all civil rights.

State-owned printing shops print both church books for religious associations, and books of an antireligious character. Likewise, paper is provided from the state warehouses both for the former and for the latter. Under the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. (art. 135) the clergy enjoys electoral rights on the same footing as all other citizens of the Soviet Union.

The laws of the Soviet Union and the established rules of the Socialist community preclude any infringement of rights or any persecution on account of religious beliefs. The laws of the Soviet Union likewise preclude anything that might offend the religious feelings of believers. The concrete manifestation of freedom of religion in the U. S. S. R. is to be found in the fact that there is no interference whatsoever with the practice of religious rites and customs.

Freedom of conscience, and hence, freedom of religion, as guaranteed by the Constitution of the U. S. S. R., has done away not only with national but also with religious strife among the numerous peoples of the Soviet Union. It has strengthened their friendship, their moral and political unity.

While guaranteeing the freedom of religious worship, the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. also recognizes the freedom of antireligious propaganda.

In 1927, during the interview Stalin gave the first American labor delegation to visit the U. S. S. R., he declared:

"Under the laws of our country every citizen has the right to profess any religion. This is a matter for the conscience of each individual. That is precisely why we carried out the separation of the church from the state. But, in separating the church from the state and proclaiming religious liberty, there was also guaranteed the right of every citizen to combat by argument, by propaganda and agitation, any and all religion."

Malicious enemies of the Soviet Union abroad have spread mischievous rumors about alleged persecution of the church, the clergy, and church members in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government has never persecuted anyone for professing one creed or another, or for belonging to a religious organization of one kind or another.

Soon after the great October revolution some leaders of the Orthodox Church, confirmed adherents of the tsarist autocracy—because under the latter they enjoyed special rights, privileges and material benefits, which they lost after the revolution—joined the fight for the restoration of the monarchy and the old regime. They fiercely opposed the implementation of the decree on the separation of the church from the state and the school from the church, which the Soviet Government promulgated in 1918.

Church organizations and religious beliefs were used by reactionary members of the clergy to further their designs against the Soviet system and against the Soviet people. The Soviet Government was therefore compelled to take measures, in conformity with justice and necessity, in order to isolate the most actively hostile members of the clergy.

ABOUT TRIALS OF CHURCH PEOPLE

Hostile elements abroad interpreted those measures as persecutions against religion and against the church.

However, church representatives themselves now admit that the measures taken were not persecutions against religion or the church.

A new trend made itself manifest in the life of the Russian Orthodox Church. It was expressed in support for the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet state.

On July 23, 1927, Metropolitan Sergius, along with other members of the synod, came out with an open declaration, which stated, in part:

"The leaders of the church are not with the enemies of our Soviet state, and not with the insane tools of their intrigues, but with our people and our government."

The declaration further stated:

"We want to be Orthodox Christians and at the same time to be conscious of the Soviet Union as our temporal country—whose joys and successes are our joys and successes, and whose reverses are our reverses.

"While remaining Orthodox Christians, we remember our duty to be citizens of the Soviet Union, not out of fear, but because that is what our conscience dictates."

This declaration met with the approval and support of the mass of members of the Orthodox Church. The clergy more and more abandoned the false road of struggle against the Soviet Government; more and more the clergy supported the measures of the Soviet Government, and this in turn gradually led to a change in the attitude of the Soviet Government toward the church and its leaders.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the same Mr. Karpov about whom you have been testifying, is it not?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know an MVD officer named Serov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. He is chairman of the Security Committee of the Council of Ministers of the U. S. S. R. They call it now KGB. In other words, it is the same as people called MVD. They organized at the death of Stalin, KGB.

Mr. MORRIS. What is his first name?

Mr. RASTVOROV. His first name I think is Ivan.

Mr. MORRIS. Ivan Serov. Is he the same gentleman who had difficulty in England recently?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, the same man.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know him personally?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I know him personally.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us something about his activities, particularly his rank and his development into a Soviet Secret Police officer?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, he became famous during the beginning of the second war, and participated in many operations, for instance, the deportation of people from the Baltic States, people from the Caucasus area. He was head of special group in East Germany which arrested many, many Germans who belonged to Hitler party at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. What party?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Hitler party.

Mr. MORRIS. Hitler party, yes.

(Senator Welker now presiding.)

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, he was at one time—I have forgotten exactly—I think after the war, after the second war, the chief of MVD in Ukrainian area, and worked with Mr. Khrushchev. And at that time, their friendship started, I think, and he is a very influential man and has great support from Mr. Khrushchev, and other people who now head the Government of the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. You said he is the chairman of the security committee?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; KGB, they call it.

Mr. MORRIS. As such, would he be the head of the security police?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; the head of the security police.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was his immediate superior in the Soviet structure of government?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Pardon me? I don't follow you.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was his superior in the Soviet structure of government. You say he is the head of MVD.

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; he is not head of MVD; he is head of KGB. In other words, they divided MVD into two parts: one part now consists of intelligence and counterintelligence—

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would mind making a little diagram for the committee, Mr. Rastvorov.

Mr. RASTVOROV. At the death of Stalin, it was MVD; they organized MVD, which united MGB and MVD. Approximately 2 years ago, or 2½, they divided MVD again into 2 parts. One part is KGB, now, they call it, which consists of intelligence and counterintelligence organ we are talking about now. And the other they call MVD, which has no connection with intelligence and counterintelligence operations.

Serov, General Serov, is in charge of KGB.

Mr. MORRIS. Serov is in charge of KGB.

Now, who is in charge of the other subdivision, do you know, Mr. Rastvorov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. The boss, the chief of MVD was Mr. Kruglov, General Kruglov.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. RASTVOROV. K-r-—well, I will write it down.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. And put Serov's name under "KGB," too, if you would, please.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we have had an investigation into the workings of Tass News Agency, and I note, Mr. Chairman, that we have a representative of the Tass News Agency covering the hearing today.

I was wondering if you knew any individuals in the MVD who work for Tass News Agency.

Mr. RASTVOROV. You mean, here in the United States or—

Mr. MORRIS. Anywhere.

Mr. RASTVOROV. I think I mentioned before, for instance, in Tokyo there were a couple of people who represent the Tass Agency, one of them by name of Sonin.

Mr. MORRIS. Spell that, please.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; S-o-n-i-n, his true name. And the second one, Captain Egorov, who worked as intelligence officer under cover of Tass Agency.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Mr. Chugunov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Mr. Chugunov?

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell "Chugunov"?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. I know him personally.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell the name for us, please?

Mr. RASTVOROV. C-h-u-g-u-n-o-v.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know his first name?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No, I don't know his first name.

Mr. MORRIS. Chugunov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you say you know him personally?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. One time during the war he was chief of American section in MVD headquarters, or I call it, MGB headquarters.

Mr. MORRIS. He was chief of the American section. That was prior to Gromov? Is that the position that Gromov had?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No, at that time Gromov was in the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, but did Gromov subsequently come there and succeed him?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; succeeded him.

Mr. MORRIS. So Chugunov succeeded Gromov as head of the American section?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; Gromov succeeded Chugunov.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did Chugunov work under cover of the Tass News Agency?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; he worked here in the United States as intelligence officer of MGB under the cover of Tass man.

Mr. MORRIS. Could you tell us when he did that?

Mr. RASTVOROV. In what year?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I don't know exactly the year, because I wasn't familiar particularly with the American operation. But anyway, I know him personally.

Mr. MORRIS. And where did you know him?

Mr. RASTVOROV. In Moscow headquarters.

Mr. MORRIS. You were not in the United States at the time and did not know him in the United States at the time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; I knew him then. He was in Moscow during the war, in, I think, in 1944 or 1945, probably. I don't know exactly what year. But I saw him many times, and I saw him when he came back from the United States. He married an American girl, the daughter of one of the leaders of the Communist Party of the United States. I don't know—

Mr. MORRIS. The daughter of one of the American Communists married Chugunov?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not know her name; do you?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I don't know her name.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Rastvorov, in connection with delegations and exchanges of delegations on economic affairs, while you were in Japan, serving as an NKVD officer, did you meet any fellow MVD officers working in these economic delegations?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; for instance, in 1953, there was meeting of Ecofair.

Mr. MORRIS. That is E-c-o-f-a-i-r?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. That stands for "Economic Affairs"?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; exactly.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that a delegation that came from the Soviet Union?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. They came as a representative of the Soviet Union, and they were members of this organization, and the organization held meeting in Japan in 1953, I think, it was in April or March.

Mr. MORRIS. April or March of 1953?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

And there is one other man by cover of official of Foreign Office, who was Colonel Otroshenko.

Mr. MORRIS. He was there under the cover of an official of the Foreign Office?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right; now, what was his name?

Mr. RASTVOROV. His name was Otroshenko.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that and write it on the board for the committee, please?

(The witness writes the name "Otroshenko" on the blackboard.)

Mr. MORRIS. Now, actually, what was his role in the MVD, or security police?

Mr. RASTVOROV. At that time—first of all, he just checked the activities of MVD, intelligence group, in Tokyo. And his second task, he participated in negotiations with Prince Kuni.

Mr. MORRIS. He participated with Prince Kuni?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Kuni, and his group, with establishment of diplomatic relationship with the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. In other words, he was trying to effect diplomatic relations between a Japanese Government and the Soviet Union?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; and the other man was former Ambassador in Australia, Generalov.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that, please?

(The witness writes the name "Generalov" on the blackboard.)

Mr. MORRIS. That is spelled G-e-n-e-r-a-l-o-v?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what was Otroshenko's role as an intelligence officer?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He was boss of Far East intelligence directorate.

Mr. MORRIS. Boss of the Far Eastern intelligence directorate?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Directorate; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And he was there under the cover that you have described.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did any skating teams come to Japan at the time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. As you probably already know, they always used all kinds of cultural organizations, for instance, regardless of who they are, musicians or skaters or skiers or anything else. They send with these delegations intelligence personnel to discuss intelligence activities abroad.

Mr. MORRIS. You say that is the general policy?

Mr. RASTVOROV. That is the general policy.

Mr. MORRIS. With all groups?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, and also they have them to keep under control the members of these cultural organizations.

Senator WELKER (presiding). Can the man skate?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; he is looking at them all the time, you know.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the general regulation?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you tell us specifically about any particular Soviet skating team that went to Japan?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, for instance, these skaters were accompanied by Col. Andrei Smirnov.

Mr. MORRIS. Smirnov, S-m-i-r-n-o-v?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And he went with the skating team?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you knew him to be——

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. He was in the United States, in the period of the second war as an intelligence officer under cover of—probably diplomatic cover. I don't know exactly. And in later years, I think he was head of the American Intelligence Section, Headquarters, in Moscow.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was his cover with the skating team?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He was official.

Mr. MORRIS. An official? He was not one of the skaters, was he?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; he can't skate well.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how about the Soviet Red Cross?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I think it is worth while to tell that all ministers who had connections abroad, such as the Minister of Trade, the organization which is known as VOKS——

Mr. MORRIS. V-O-K-S?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. (Continuing.) Tass; Red Cross—they have special intelligence groups who are responsible for sending with this delegation, you know, who is going abroad, to send with this delegation intelligence personnel. For instance, the head of the intelligence group in Red Cross in Moscow, headed by intelligence officer, Colonel Balayan——

Mr. MORRIS. Would you spell that, please?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Colonel Balayan?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, who was many, many times abroad. I don't know exactly in what country, but he is very famous as a Soviet official abroad, especially during the war and before the war, before the second war.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you say he operates under the cover of an official of the Red Cross?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; he is an Armenian.

Mr. MORRIS. And is he in fact an officer of the Soviet Secret Police?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Is his rank colonel?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you say he has been in the United States?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. No, no, I don't know about the United States, but he was abroad in the western world many times as an intelligence officer.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Mitskevitch?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Mitskevitch is the head of the intelligence group in VOKS. He is deputy or assistant chairman of VOKS.

Mr. MORRIS. Is he also an official of the security police?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He also holds rank of colonel, and at one time during the war, had connections with the intelligence operations in the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with any change of delegations and representations between the United States and the Soviet Union, did you participate at all in any particular individual role in connection with the visit of any American dignitaries to Moscow, the Soviet Union?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, for instance, during the war the Soviet Government tried to make friends, especially with the leaders, in other words, political leaders in the United States. And as you know, during the war, in 1943, I think—yes, 1943—Mr. Willkie who, I think, wanted to run as the Vice President here——

Mr. MORRIS. As President.

Senator WELKER. No; he ran for President—"one world"——

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. They tried to make a friend of him, and tried desperately to show that in spite of war, the economical conditions in the Soviet Union for civilians is not so bad. For this reason, at the present time, they show him several show places.

For instance, one of these show places was a farm in the Quibishev area, Quibishev city area, which was in bad shape because all people, all men, were in the Army, in order to impress Mr. Willkie that we have huge army, and in spite of this fact that we have also plenty of men in the rural areas, they mobilized all people who were cadets of Military Language Institute, who at that time was not far from that place, as farmers. They changed their uniform to civilian clothes to show Mr. Willkie that they are poor farmers, and I was one of them.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words——

Mr. RASTVOROV. Before this, they cleaned this farm about 3 months, painted it and cleaned it to show Mr. Willkie that everything was all right in the Soviet Union on the farms, and sent plenty of delicious stuff from Moscow, like caviar, champagne, and everything.

Mr. MORRIS. Let me see, Mr. Rastvorov. You were actually in the military service at the time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; I was one of cadets.

Mr. MORRIS. One of the cadets?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were directed to doff your military uniform——

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And to appear as a farmer?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. This was a good example of how they were trying to deceive people from the West, who naively believed that really everything was wonderful.

Senator WELKER. That leads me to this question, Judge Morris.

What do you think about this idea, this increased tendency, to exchange delegations with the Soviet Union, this visiting back and forth? Are we likely to be misled, as when you posed as a farmer, when in fact you were an intelligence agent?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I think so.

Senator WELKER. Can you give us any information on that? For instance, will they show our delegations what they should see, or do they just show us exactly what they want us to see?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Exactly. They show what they want to show, because, as you understand, from many articles in press and the impressions of people who visit the country, that the Government of the Soviet Union purposely shows the places where they want to show, and that is why it misleads the people who visit that country, and that is why sometimes they express themselves about their visit and just draw the very rosy picture about everything in the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. And we can expect that in the Soviet delegations there will be intelligence agents; is that right, sir?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Definitely.

Senator WELKER. Judge Morris, I would like to inquire on another matter that is no doubt on the mind of the witness and on the minds of most people here.

What do you think of this recent publicity that has been coming out of the Soviet Union with respect to the purge of Stalin?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I am not very experienced expert in this respect, but I still want to give my opinion, that—

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, at this point may the record show that, contrary to many of the things that the witness has testified today, most of the things in fact, which were based on his own knowledge, that this is now his own opinion?

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Rather than evidence.

Senator WELKER. Very well. I am asking for your opinion, sir, based upon your experience with the intelligence agency of the Soviet Union.

Mr. RASTVOROV. First of all, this purge of Stalin at the present time indicates that, probably contrary to the opinion of many experts on the Soviet affairs here—it is an indication of not weakness of the Soviet Government at the present time, but it is an indication of their strength.

First of all, doing this, they are trying to strengthen their position inside country.

Mr. MORRIS. Inside the country?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, sir, and especially among White Russians, Byelorussians, and Ukrainians, to show themselves that they are a supporter of the rights of the people.

Senator WELKER. And not only would they be strengthening themselves inside their own country, but they would be selling a bill of goods—

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. I am going to come to that. And the second aim of their tactics is to force people in the West to believe that they are much different from their predecessor, and really sup-

porters of so-called peaceful coexistence, because, as they understand in the Western World now, they are very reluctant to believe in their sincere plans and desires, and I think this step is a good example of their desperate attempts for the Western World to believe about their peaceful intentions, about their policy of peaceful coexistence.

Those are the two main points in their recent tactics.

Senator WELKER. I have just returned from my home State out West, and we have received publicity that you no doubt have read, these people who are alleging that Stalin was a vicious terror and a disgrace to the Soviet Union.

I will ask you if it is not a fact that that publicity comes from those who worked at one time very closely with Stalin?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Bulganin?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Khrushchev?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Mikoyan?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Mikoyan; yes.

Senator WELKER. Your opinion is that you are not about to believe that as of now?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Of course not. If anybody reads attentively or carefully all speeches in the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they can come to only one conclusion, that their policy of world domination remains the same. They change their tactics from force to so-called peaceful tactics, because they now understand they are not strong enough to achieve their aims for peace by strength, and it takes time to consolidate their strength.

And as soon as they consolidate their strength, they return to the same previous policy of force.

Senator WELKER. Do you believe that such a thing as a revolution is now going on behind the Iron Curtain today in Russia?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I think it is wishful thinking.

Senator WELKER. It is wishful thinking?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. And it is given out by Bulganin and the other leaders I have named to lull those of us freedom-loving countries—

Mr. RASTVOROV. To sleep; yes.

Senator WELKER. Lull us into peaceful sleep—

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Which might result in a rude awakening?

Mr. RASTVOROV. It is a very dangerous policy, the policy of smile, and then your enemies show what they really represent.

Senator WELKER. Now, since I have been on this committee, which has been a number of years, we have been led to believe that Stalin was worshipped in his country as a sort of god.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Based upon your opinion of the workings of the Soviet Union, do you feel that has fundamentally changed, or is that attack a change of tactics, of lying, subterfuge, and fraud, which the Communists never hesitate to use?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No; the policy tactics and the external policy remain basically the same. They change only temporary tactics, you know, contemporary tactics, for reasons that I have already mentioned.

Senator WELKER. And could they also change to the benefit of the satellities that they have?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I don't think so; no. I doubt it, because Mr. Khrushchev stresses very definitely that they are not going to change their policy toward satellite countries, and the problems remain the same, in spite of the desire of the western world to help these countries and to free them from the Communist domination.

Senator WELKER. And it is your opinion, is it, that this propaganda that we have been reading, coming from the leaders of the Soviet Union, is nothing but propaganda in an attempt to lull the freedom-loving peoples into a sleep?

Mr. RASTVOROV. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. I think that is all I have.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have one more fact here, and that is that the September 1954 listing of the delegation to the United Nations Ninth Session of the Assembly has the name of A. E. Titov listed as First Secretary of the Russian Delegation.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that the Mr. Titov about whom you have testified?

Mr. RASTVOROV. What is his first name? Alexander?

Mr. MORRIS. A. E.; the initials, "A. E."

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; Alexander Titov.

He is probably chief of the intelligence operations in the New York area.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to mention for the record that the Ninth Listing, the September 1954, listing, carried him in that fashion.

Senator WELKER. It is so entered as part of the record.

(The listing above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 228" and may be found in the subcommittee files.)

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Chairman, the staff has not yet completed the necessary amount of work in connection with this witness, and there are other things that are still to be covered in connection with this and the previous examination. I wonder if you would ask the witness if he would be available for testimony at some time again in the future.

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Colonel Rastvorov, naturally our staff has much more work to complete before they finish their interrogation of you. Will you be available for further testimony after the staff gives you a reasonable time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; I will do my best any time you ask me to.

Senator WELKER. And I want to thank you very much, Colonel, for your testimony.

Mr. RASTVOROV. You are welcome, sir.

Senator WELKER. Thank you very much.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you.

(Whereupon, at 12:35 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

(The following additional testimony by Rastvorov was ordered into the record at a hearing on May 31, Chairman Eastland presiding:)

TESTIMONY OF YURI RASTVOROV—Resumed

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, do you know a Soviet official named Sergei Tichvinski?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I know him personally. He belonged to the Soviet Intelligence Service, particularly MVD Intelligence. He started his career as an intelligence officer approximately from 1938, 1939.

During the second war he was assigned to the Soviet Embassy in China and worked at the Embassy; his final post was counselor.

Mr. MORRIS. Where was that?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, I don't know the beginning of his work in China. Peking, I think, and elsewhere in China.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, could you approximate what year that was?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I think it is from 1940.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did he hold a military rank at that time in the MVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; he already was an officer, an intelligence officer at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Of what rank?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Probably lieutenant or senior lieutenant of NKGB.

Mr. MORRIS. And you say he was assigned, then, to the Soviet Embassy in Peking?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. As an intelligence——

Mr. RASTVOROV. As an intelligence officer under diplomatic cover.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember specifically what diplomatic cover he had at that time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Some diplomatic cover, but I don't know particularly what. I know at the end of his career in China he was counselor of the Soviet Embassy.

Mr. MORRIS. How long was he in China?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Approximately, with brief trips back to the Soviet Union, approximately 10 years, from 1940 to 1950.

Mr. MORRIS. 1940 to 1950?

Mr. RASTVOROV. To 1950, approximately. He also was on intelligence and official assignments in Hong Kong, I think, and some South East Asia countries, and New York, and Ottawa.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, during those 10 years, to your knowledge, did he act as an MGB officer?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. For the whole duration?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I think in 1946 or 1947 he came temporarily to the Moscow headquarters and was about a couple of months there. He gave several lectures to the Intelligence Directorate on the situation in China.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet him at that time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; I met him a couple of times.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you speak with him at those times?

Mr. RASTVOROV. No. I didn't know him personally but at that time he was assigned to the Third Section, Fourth Division of the First Directorate of the MGB.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the function of that directorate?

Mr. RASTVOROV. It was the Directorate of the Intelligence of MGB.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the MGB?

Mr. RASTVOROV. The Ministry of State Security.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, at that time did you know that he was acting under diplomatic cover as an intelligence officer in China?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, in China.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did he stay in Moscow at that time?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He was there about a couple of months, and then returned back to China and later he also occasionally visited Moscow on temporary leave. During his work in China he was actively engaged in espionage activity against the Chiang Kai-shek Government and had personal contacts with several very important agents in China. At that time the Soviet Ambassador in China was Panyushkin, who was also the chief of MGB Intelligence in China. Tichvinski was one of his chief lieutenants.

Mr. MORRIS. You say Tichvinski had contacts with Soviet agents in China?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Soviet agents who penetrated Chiang Kai-shek's Government.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know any of those?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I don't know particularly the name of those agents. I wasn't connected with intelligence work in China. I worked in the Japanese section.

Mr. MORRIS. That was not your assignment, but you did know, and you learned from your experience as an intelligence officer, that he had made contact with important agents who had penetrated the Chiang Kai-shek Government?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that prior to the time you saw him in 1946 and 1947 in Moscow?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, before and after; until the Chiang Kai-shek Government collapsed. Also, he was engaged in the recruitment of Japanese prisoners of war in China who later, repatriated to Japan, agreed to work in the Soviet Intelligence as agents.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you tell us what you mean when you say he was engaged in recruitment work?

Mr. RASTVOROV. It means that he participated in recruiting the Japanese prisoners of war and internees for intelligence operations in Japan.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were these people whom he recruited then sent back to the homeland of Japan?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes, exactly.

Mr. MORRIS. To carry on intelligence work for the Soviet Union?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know whether his recruitment work was extensive?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, as I mentioned before, I didn't know the details of his work, but I know he participated in this particular operation.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, is there anything else you know about Mr. Tichvinski?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Well, in approximately 1952, he was appointed as deputy of the Far East Intelligence Operations Directorate, in MGB headquarters in Moscow, and we knew about his appointment from the cables which we got from Moscow headquarters which were signed by him and also by Colonel Otruschenko.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Colonel Otruschenko?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He was until 1951 the chief of the Far and Near East Intelligence Directorate in the Committee of Information. The Committee of Information had been established at the end of 1947, on Molotov's initiative, as an independent intelligence agency consisting of the Intelligence Directorate of MGB and Military Intelligence. The committee was dissolved in 1952 and the Intelligence Directorate was restored to its previous separate status, for greater efficiency.

Tichvinski was appointed as deputy chief of Far East and Near East Intelligence Directorate of the main Intelligence Directorate of MGB. At that time he held the rank of full colonel. He speaks fluently Chinese and—

Mr. MORRIS. Who is this now?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Tichvinski—and Japanese, and English. He is considered by high level echelons of government and leaders of Intelligence Service as a very capable and intelligent officer, capable and experienced intelligence officer.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did you next hear about Mr. Tichvinski?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I heard about Mr. Tichvinski, about his work in England. In England he was Chief of Intelligence, MVD Intelligence.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I think approximately it was in—he was on temporary duty there, was a long time there. I have forgotten exactly but it is probably 1953.

Mr. MORRIS. 1953. In other words, subsequent to his assignment to England.

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; after his assignment.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know what title he had while he was in England?

Mr. RASTVOROV. He was under diplomatic cover. I don't know exactly what kind of cover he had. Being under diplomatic cover, he worked as the leader of the MVD intelligence group in England.

That is all about England.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you know now that he is the head of the trade mission to Japan?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes; I read recently in the press various references to the name of Sergei Tichvinski, who was appointed as chief of the Soviet mission in Tokyo. Paying great attention to Japanese problems and anxious to reestablish diplomatic relationship with Japan, the Soviet Government probably decided that Tichvinski, being very experienced diplomatically and at the same time a very capable, experienced intelligence officer, was qualified for this job.

It was also worthwhile to mention that, as a result of my defection, which caused the breakup of the Soviet agent net in Japan, the leaders of the Kremlin are very anxious at the present time to build again a new agent net in Japan, in order to bring about their aims toward that country, keeping in mind its strategic and political importance to their maneuvers.

Mr. MORRIS. That you base on your knowledge of Mr. Tichvinski and the MVD?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes. It is absolutely obvious that the Soviet mission in Japan at the present time is having a hard time reestablish-

ing contact with the Japanese Communist Party because of lack of experienced intelligence officers. All of them, after my defection, were sent to the Soviet Union.

Previously the Soviet intelligence group in Tokyo maintained contact with the Japanese Communist Party through a liaison member of the Communist Party of Japan whose code name was Ron.

There is no question that Mr. Tichvinski has been given the task of reestablishing contact with the Japanese Communist Party. He replaced Mr. Greschnov who temporarily was the head of the MVD intelligence group in Tokyo after the Soviet Intelligence Service was forced to recall all their intelligence personnel as a result of my defection. The Soviet Intelligence Service needed very much to replace Mr. Greschnov with a more capable and experienced intelligence officer who could renew intelligence operations in Japan, and that is one of the reasons Mr. Tichvinski has been sent to Japan—not only for the purpose of attempting the establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan but for intelligence purposes directly.

Mr. MORRIS. And again, Mr. Rastvorov, you know that from your understanding of the operations of MVD and your knowledge of Mr. Tichvinski, rather than any direct knowledge that you have?

Mr. RASTVOROV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how did you know that Ron was the liaison man?

Mr. RASTVOROV. I personally participated in the arrangement of meetings with Ron from 1950 until 1954. I also participated directly in getting the money in American currency which the Soviet Government sent clandestinely to Japan for the activities and work of the Japanese Communist Party.

After the second war, the MVD Intelligence Service participated in the recruitment of Japanese prisoners of war in concentration camps, which existed all over the Soviet Union, particularly in the Far East area.

In 1948 I participated myself in recruitment of PW's in the Far East area, especially Khabarovsk. The MVD Intelligence Service recruited approximately 400 Japanese prisoners of war to use as agents after their return to Japan. Some of these agents were used after their return to Japan. Some of them were put on ice temporarily, and we can assume that Mr. Tichvinski will be engaged in reestablishing contact with some of these people, who up until now have not been active as Soviet agents, but who are now important to Soviet intelligence because of their possible sensitive positions.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rastvorov, could you estimate for us the number of Japanese prisoners and internees who were recruited for intelligence purposes?

Mr. RASTVOROV. As I mentioned before, the Soviet Intelligence Service alone recruited approximately 400 people. Besides these people, local concentration camp authorities, for internal purposes, also recruited a great number of Japanese prisoners of war.

I think it is better to explain what I mean by this. In other words, so-called internal agents which they used as informers in PW camps, not directly for intelligence purposes but to spy on their own men at the camps.

They were not recruited by Intelligence Service but by local authorities who were in charge of these PW camps, and if you include

this number, it would be approximately 7,000, 8,000 people, who also are potential agents and sooner or later could be used as active Soviet agents in Japan.

(Whereupon, at 4:50 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

(The following statement of Yuri Rastvorov was ordered into the record at a meeting of the subcommittee on July 18, 1956:)

My career as an officer of the Soviet Intelligence Service, MVD, began in 1940 with my entry into the Japanese department of the Moscow Institute of Eastern Studies. The institute was originally named after Narimanov, but as it frequently happens in the Soviet Union, Narimanov was eventually accused of treason against the Soviet Union on behalf of all foreign intelligence services, collectively, and was specifically charged with being an agent of the Japanese Intelligence Service. This latter charge against Narimanov was evolved as the result of the Soviet estimation of the capabilities attributed to the Japanese Intelligence Service. It was always described as the most powerful and the most active of all the foreign intelligence organizations supposedly functioning on the Soviet territory, and especially in the Soviet Far East. Fantastic "cloak and dagger" stories involving operations of the Japanese Intelligence Service in the Soviet Union were in circulation throughout the Soviet population. Many of these stories (tales) could successfully compete with the horror stories of the unexcelled Hollywood master of mystery Alfred Hitchcock.

Thousands of prominent and responsible Communist Party and Government officials, together with the leaders and the high command of the Red army were accused, tried, and finally slaughtered on the grounds that they were actively engaged in espionage for the Japanese Intelligence Service. These accusations frequently took a ridiculous form, since the evidence presented at the trials tended to indicate that some of the accused leaders of the Soviet society were on the payroll of the Japanese Intelligence supposedly from the time when they normally would have been wearing diapers.

While I was a member of the Japanese department of the Moscow Institute of Eastern Studies, I became a direct witness to the numerous arrests of the teaching personnel of the institute. Among those arrested were prominent Japanese Communists, active participants of the Comintern, who came to the "proletarian paradise" to acquire practical experience for making revolution. They hoped to apply the lessons learned in Moscow to their own country when the opportunity presented itself, but in the meantime, some of them were utilized in the capacity of teachers of Japanese in the Institute of Eastern Studies in Moscow. Among the few Japanese people who survived Soviet panic and the resultant bloody purges which reflected Soviet fear of the Japanese, was the daughter of Sen Katayama, one of the original founders of the Japanese Communist Party. By virtue of being the lone survivor of the purges at the institute, she became the only native Japanese teacher of language available there, soon establishing herself as the sole authority on the subject.

Since I was an inexperienced young man, thoroughly permeated with Communist ideology, taught to hate everything foreign, I had to accept the official Communist line, emphasizing the supposed inherent qualities of treachery and basic animosity which the Soviets attribute to Japanese people. The complete fallacy of this indoctrination I came to realize later when I was given an opportunity to visit Japan, the land which I had studied for so long, and so intensively. At the time, however, I could not suspect that Japanese language and Japanese area studies were to play such a decisive role in my life a decade later when, because of it, I was able to break away from the Communist regime in Russia and to establish for myself a new home in a free country.

I began my study of Japanese language with mixed emotions. There were doubts in my mind as to my ultimate ability to master Japanese, the most difficult language for Europeans to learn. There was also present in me an element of fear of Japan, the sworn enemy of the Soviet people, according to the around-the-clock pronouncements of the Soviet propaganda machine. Paradoxically, my doubts and fears were overshadowed by the trust placed upon me by my country. I was fired up with enthusiasm directed at fulfilling the assigned responsible mission of defending the "workers-peasants" motherland from the aspirations of the imperialist Japan, said to be desirous to conquer the Soviet Union.

Even though there were certain doubts in me concerning the infallibility of the Communist regime established in Russia, I was nevertheless inclined to believe the extravagant statements of the Krenlin clique, painting the bright picture of the happy future for the suffering Russian people. The deprivations of the Rus-

sian masses were always explained by the Communists in terms of foreign capitalist exploitation, encirclement, and the aggressive designs directed against the Soviet Union.

My study of the Japanese language was interrupted with the outbreak of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union, in June 1941. All students of the Japanese department of the Institute of Eastern Studies in Moscow were ordered immediately to proceed to the Soviet Far East, to be employed as interpreters of Japanese language, and to serve as officers of the psychological warfare service in the Special Far Eastern Red army.

The Communist leadership of Russia anticipated with fear the possible entry of Japan into the war against the Soviet Union. Such action by Japan would have decided the fate of the Communist ideology and probably would have changed entirely the recent history of mankind. The widely spread fear of the Soviet leaders was soon to be dispelled.

My presence in the Soviet Far East lasted only a short while. Several weeks prior to the outbreak of war between the United States and Japan, a transfer took place of a considerable number of the Soviet Far Eastern Army combat units to the western front. This development was observed with amazement by the staff officers of the Soviet Far Eastern Command. The transfer of troops was necessitated by the critical situation developing on the approaches to Moscow by the German advance. What then appeared to be an exceedingly risky step to be taken by the Soviet high command, since it exposed the Soviet far eastern areas to a possible invasion by the Japanese Kwantung army, in reality, was a calculated risk undertaken by the Kremlin leadership on the knowledge of the Japanese General Staff plan of attack on Pearl Harbor. This knowledge in turn, was derived from the extensive espionage network operations carried out by the Soviets in Japan.

Soon after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, assuring the safety of the Soviet position in the Far East, I was transferred from Mongolia to Fergana, the location to which the Institute of Eastern Studies was evacuated from Moscow.

In 1943, in connection with the growing need for Japanese linguists I was recalled from the institute and, in accordance with the decision of the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party, I was assigned to the Japanese Department of the Intelligence Directorate of the Soviet Ministry of State Security.

All those mental pictures of the Soviet intelligence activities, which my youthful imagination helped to create, proved to be exceedingly naive and overly romantic. Having seen much, and having experienced more as the time went on, a new world opened up to me—an unpleasant, repulsive underworld, filled with intrigues, murders, kidnappings, blackmail; with all sorts of unethical political manipulations, diversionary acts—all directed against the countries of the non-Soviet world. All these actions were justified by the Soviet leaders on the grounds that the target, the free world, represented a threat to communism and therefore had to be destroyed.

The absence in my work of any serious complications requiring assistance and direction from an expert possessing a brilliant analytical mind, was always a source of amazement to me. Everything was basic in nature, simple and orderly. It was difficult to realize that within the framework of the huge Soviet espionage net covering the world, operated Rosenbergs, Fuchs, Hiss, MacLean, Burgess, Sorge, and thousands of others. What specially impressed me at the beginning, and became later a source of repulsion for me, was the complete lack of humaneness and consideration by the Soviet system toward the agents of its own intelligence service. Agents employed by the Soviets were always in a position of milk-cows, once they ceased producing milk, they were sent to a slaughterhouse.

In January 1946, after an appropriate intelligence operational training and preparation, I was sent to Tokyo under the guise of a representative of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The capitulation of Japan opened up numerous opportunities for the Soviet intensification of the intelligence effort, and the Tokyo representatives of the Soviet Intelligence Service (MVD) experienced an urgent need for additional intelligence officers.

The Soviet Government proved to be very realistic in its early appraisal of the situation in the Far East. It came to a conclusion that it would be impossible to establish in Japan a puppet regime of the Soviet Government, like those created in Eastern Europe with the aid of Soviet troops. Occupation of Japan by the United States troops and the categorical refusal by General MacArthur to comply with the persistent and strong Soviet demands to permit Soviet military occupation of northern Japan— island of Hokkaido, prevented the Soviet Government from establishing "in accordance with the will of the Japanese people" the "independent democratic Japanese Government friendly to the Soviet cause and to its ideology." Because of this, the Communist leadership of the Soviet Union

attributed special importance to the formation in Japan of a comprehensive, widely established and effective Soviet espionage net.

The main objective of the Soviet espionage effort was the infiltration of its agents into the Imperial Court circle, into the Government and business, and into the political parties of Japan. This reflected the long-range aspects of the Soviet political planning in regard to Japan. Soviet leadership considered the necessity for Soviet penetration into the Japanese political life at the time when the sovereignty of Japan would be restored. Soviet planning centered upon the use of Japanese Socialist parties, the most effective instrument for the submission of Japan to the Soviet influence. [The current Soviet campaign, led by Khrushchev and his subordinates, "sweetly" praising the Communist Party of Japan and the Socialist Party elements in that country, actually represents a move to strengthen the fifth column of the Kremlin in Japan. Through it, the Soviets intend to convert Japan eventually into a puppet of the international Communist movement, with the consequent result of weakening the unified anti-Communist front in the Far East.]

As a concurrent mission, the Soviet intelligence organs in Japan were instructed to undertake the espionage operations against the Allied occupation forces, with the first priority of this effort given to the United States and to the British personnel and installations.

Immediately after the capitulation of Japan, the intelligence group of the MVD in Tokyo instigated the search for, and the reestablishment of contact with, former Soviet espionage agents. Some of these agents were discarded and lost during the war; some of them, however, were directed to go underground and to remain inactive because of the strict Japanese internal security control maintained during the war.

[The firm and effective Japanese control and the constant surveillance maintained over the Soviet Embassy personnel and over the personnel of other Soviet agencies, resulted in a considerable curtailment of Soviet intelligence operations in Japan during World War II.]

With the termination of the war, the intensified Soviet drive to reestablish contact with the former Japanese agents of the Soviet intelligence services was greatly facilitated by the fact that many of the Japanese former Soviet agents appeared at the Soviet missions in Tokyo, on their own initiative, prompted not only by devotion, but also by the pangs of hunger. In the majority of these cases, they were attempting to regain contact with the representatives of the Soviet Military Intelligence (GRU), an organization which successfully competes with the MVD espionage system.

In the summer of 1946, one of the oldest, most reliable and faithful agents of the MVD, Takemore Shigezu, made his appearance at the Soviet mission in Tokyo. Takemore spent considerable time in the Soviet Union as an official representative of the Japanese Government, representing Japanese commercial firms having concessions in the northern part of the Sakhalin Island. He was recruited by the MVD intelligence service through the exploitation of a known weakness on his part. Having learned that his weakness was Russian women, the MVD arranged for Takemore to meet an attractive Moscow prostitute who was an MVD agent. This MVD sponsored romance soon blossomed out into a secret marriage, that eventually resulted in the recruitment of Takemore as a full-fledged agent of the MVD intelligence service. Recognizing his dedicated love toward his wife, the MVD exploited this factor to the hilt. As payment for his espionage activities, Takemore was given infrequent opportunities to meet his wife in north Sakhalin, where she was brought from Moscow under escort of two MVD colonels. These meetings between Takemore and his wife were usually held in a house assigned for this purpose by the MVD. Surveillance included keeping an eye on them by the escorting MVD colonels from Moscow. The colonels were assigned to this duty because of the importance attributed Takemore by the MVD. Takemore honestly and faithfully worked for the Soviet Intelligence Service (MVD), transmitting to it great amounts of valuable classified information and numerous secret documents from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. To the best of my knowledge, Takemore continued his postwar employment with the Soviet Intelligence Service (MVD) through 1954.

Before my departure from Moscow for Tokyo, I was instructed to report for briefing to the Director of the Intelligence Service (MVD), Lieutenant General Fitin. In the course of my visit to Fitin, he underscored and emphasized the need for recruitment of Americans and British. Referring to his instructions from the Kremlin, he stated that "with the collapse of Hitlerite Germany, our principal enemies remain the United States and Great Britain. This is the direc-

tion of the main Soviet effort, and within it the principal place is assigned to the Soviet Intelligence Service operations." The open cynicism displayed by Fitin was to me reminiscent of the Soviet failure to advise the United States of Japan's willingness to capitulate in 1945. Filled with disappointment, and greatly disillusioned and depressed, I left the private office of this high Soviet bureaucrat, in whose hands was concentrated the worldwide network of Soviet espionage. This again demonstrated to me the inherent duplicity of the Soviet leadership towards the Allies, who were instrumental in assuring the survival of the Communist regime, without realizing that the Communists, as soon as they were in a position, would bite the hand that was feeding them, and would ultimately stab their saviors in the back.

After a long 10-day journey across the vast wasteland and forests of Siberia, I arrived in Vladivostok. There I joined a large group of select, specially trained Soviet officers, the majority of whom were intelligence officers assigned to Japan. I later learned that most of us received similar briefings, stressing the same objectives I had heard in Fitin's office. From Vladivostok to Yokohama, the 3-day trip was made in American built ships, which had been furnished by the United States to the Soviets during the war, under the terms of the lend-lease.

Upon my arrival in Japan I was especially impressed with the magnitude of Japanese industrial installations in the Tokyo-Yokohama area. Smokeless factory chimneys, dominating the horizon, however, stood as silent witness of this devastated land.

After a short period of local intelligence briefings dedicated primarily to the study of locations and places suitable for clandestine meetings with agents, I was ready to embark on my first operational assignment on Japanese soil. My immediate task was to establish a direct contact with two Japanese agents of the Soviet Intelligence Service (MVD), who had just returned to Japan from Moscow. One of these men, by name Higurashi, occupied a position of secretary of the Japanese Embassy in Moscow, while the other, named Kiyokawa, had served as Moscow correspondent for one of the leading Japanese newspapers.

Approximately a year before the end of war in the Pacific in 1944, when it became obvious that the war was not going to end favorably for Japan, a number of Japanese diplomats in Moscow formed a political group, calling it the Party for the Establishment of the New Democratic Order in Japan. The formation of this group was prompted by the deep depression and pessimism which prevailed throughout the ranks of the Japanese representatives of the Foreign Office stationed abroad.

Soviet Intelligence Service (MVD) authorities learned about the formation of this group through its counterintelligence organization which was responsible for the surveillance of and reporting on members of foreign diplomatic missions in Moscow. Having obtained information concerning this organization and its objectives, the Chief of the MVD counterintelligence office who was responsible for this area, Colonel Tahchianov, made contact with the group. To hide his connection with Soviet Intelligence, he claimed to be a representative of Soviet social, political, and cultural circles. To make the necessary contacts, he used as his intermediaries Russian agents, employees of the Japanese Embassy. Through them, Colonel Tahchianov established contact with the aforementioned group, offering it his services and facilities for the moral and material support necessary to implement the plans developed by the Japanese Embassy conspirators.

Having thus created a close working contact with the Japanese group, Tahchianov then concentrated on the development of individual members of the group along Communist lines. This development stage was stimulated by promises of serious and extensive Soviet support to the Japanese "party" for the establishment of the "democratic" regime in Japan. Cultivation and development of the Japanese diplomatic representatives in Moscow was not limited to the political objectives, but was, as a rule, lavishly accompanied by dinner parties and various other forms of entertainment. As a result of the intensive Soviet drive, all members of this Japanese Embassy group were recruited individually as agents of the MVD, prior to their departure from Moscow. Each of the individuals, signed an agreement, committing himself in writing to work for Soviet Intelligence, and also obligating himself to keep this agreement secret from other members of the Japanese Embassy group. The form of this written agreement had a pompous character, elaborating on the Communist future of Japan and emphasizing the necessity for physical extermination of the Imperial family and for the complete elimination of the Imperial system in Japan, which were the main causes for the misfortunes of the Japanese people.

I established contact with Higurashi in July 1946, on a Sunday, by the monument of General Grant in Ueno Park. While still in Moscow, Higurashi and

other members of the Japanese Embassy group mentioned above, were instructed in detail as to the types of information they were to obtain for the Soviet Union. Special emphasis was placed on the information pertaining to the United States policies toward Japan.

The end of the war found Higurashi in an important and responsible position in the Japanese Foreign Office. Following the conclusion of peace negotiations in San Francisco, the Soviet Government was thoroughly informed by Higurashi concerning the internal and external policies of Yoshida's government, including details of the secret negotiations between United States and the Japanese Governments held through the medium of the American Ambassadors, in Japan, Murphy and Allison. Detailed facts of the negotiations were transmitted by Higurashi directly to the Soviet representatives in Tokyo and were then immediately telegraphed by them to Moscow. The information submitted by Higurashi was so detailed that frequently it was thought to be an exact stenographic transcript of the discussions held by the American and Japanese representatives. The compliance of Higurashi with Soviet demands for information, was made possible through his wide circle of acquaintances and friends holding key positions within the Japanese Government. Among these was the brother-in-law of Yoshida. Higurashi also had access to timely information concerning the Japanese Government's position in regard to the illegal presence of the Soviet mission on Japanese territory. The legality of its presence in Japan was questioned by the Japanese, since the Soviet Union refused to conclude the peace treaty with Japan, which would have meant recognition of Japan's sovereignty. Studying the detailed information reports submitted by Higurashi on the subject of conferences held by top leaders in the Japanese Foreign Office, with the frequent participation of Premier Yoshida, we in Moscow were always amazed at the attitude of uncertainty and the indecision held by the Japanese Government in regard to the continued existence of the Soviet mission in Tokyo. It is unfortunate that the Japanese were not aware, at that time, of the Soviet preparedness to withdraw its mission from Japan at the first strong request by the Japanese Government.

Higurashi also rendered a valuable service to the Kremlin and to the Chinese Communist leaders during the Korean war. He obtained a considerable amount of information of military character, describing the efforts of the United States and other United Nations participating in the drive to expel the Korean Communists from South Korea. In the course of his priceless service for the Soviet intelligence over a period of some 8 years, Higurashi "earned" over 7,000 American dollars, in addition to the extravagant promises of further compensation in the future, when the objectives of the Soviet Union in Japan were attained.

In the course of his initial contacts in Japan with the Soviet Intelligence Service representatives, Higurashi was still under the influence of his Moscow "experience," naively believing that his entire mission for the Soviets would consist only of organizing a new Japanese political party, and not fully realizing, at the time, that he had already become a paid Soviet agent and a traitor to Japan.

A few weeks after assuming the responsibility of working with Higurashi, I established operational contact with another Japanese agent, also a former member of the Moscow "group." Kiyokawa Yukichi was a former Moscow correspondent for a leading Japanese newspaper. I met Kiyokawa in the Meiji Park, in the evening. He appeared extremely jittery and expressed unmistakable fear of detection. It required considerable time and effort on my part to obtain from Kiyokawa intelligent answers to my operational questions and to transmit to him instructions for his next espionage assignment.

In contrast with Higurashi, Kiyokawa, on the basis of my initial contact with him, demonstrated complete apathy and unwillingness to fulfill the espionage obligations which he had assumed while in Moscow. Kiyokawa had returned to his former position on the leading Japanese newspaper, which he had represented in Moscow. He was in constant panic, fearful of detection and arrest by the Japanese police or American occupation authorities. I do not exaggerate when I say that during my meetings with Kiyokawa, which were usually held in the dark out-of-the-way streets of Tokyo, I could always recognize Kiyokawa by the rattle of his teeth, a direct result of his nervousness. He constantly insisted that he should be left alone, refused to accept money payments from me. The extent of his espionage effort was consistently limited to the transcription and rehash of political commentaries from various Tokyo newspapers. This he submitted to me for transmission to Moscow as secret information. Kiyokawa systematically tried to avoid the operational meetings with me. There were periods, several months in duration, when he failed completely to appear at scheduled meeting places. Although there was constant Soviet pressure exerted

on Kiyokawa to fulfill his obligations, toward the middle of 1950 he broke contact with Soviet intelligence altogether.

In the summer of 1946, contact was reestablished with two other members of the former Japanese Embassy group in Moscow. I worked with one of them, Shioji, during my second assignment in Japan in July 1950. Although Shioji was not a high ranking officer of the Japanese Foreign Office, he soon became an important figure in the espionage net maintained by MVD in Japan. His primary value to the Soviet intelligence was his "natural ability" to steal top secret documents from the safes of the Japanese Foreign Office. This earned Shioji the MVD nickname "Document Master." Concurrently, with his firm belief in the righteousness of communism, Shioji was also deeply dedicated to the idea of monetary compensation for his efforts. He constantly demanded of me additional sums of money which he claimed were due him for extra services rendered the Soviet intelligence. He invented various reasons and excuses for demanding supplementary payments for his services, such as purchases of presents for his superiors in the Foreign Office, for dances and parties, and various other purposes, supposedly required from the developmental intelligence point of view. In reality, Shioji financed his numerous love affairs with Soviet funds given him for intelligence purposes. This the MVD knew from Shioji's "colleague" Higurashi, and from other agents.

In the latter half of 1953, Shioji informed me, at one of our operational meetings, that he was nominated by his superiors in the Foreign Office for a diplomatic assignment to the Japanese Embassy in New Delhi, India. Moscow, immediately upon receipt of my message, instructed Shioji to do his utmost to obtain this assignment. Moscow felt that through Shioji Soviet intelligence would develop additional operational possibilities in India, which also represented a vital intelligence target for Soviet intelligence operations.

I assume, however, that with my sensational departure from the Soviet mission in Tokyo in January 1954, Shioji's opportunities to enjoy the Indian scene were unceremoniously terminated.

Concurrently with handling my agents, Kiyokawa and Higurashi, I was instructed by Moscow to establish contact with another Japanese agent of the MVD, Sakata, Jiro. He was returned to Japan after an internment in the Soviet Union, as the result of the Soviet declaration of war in August 1945. The unusual rapidity with which the Soviets repatriated interned Japanese diplomats after the war was prompted by the extraordinary need to place these men in areas of projected Soviet intelligence operations. This was told to me by my Moscow superiors. Moscow felt that these agents, because of their positions and connections, could play an important role in the procurement of information vital for the formulation of Soviet policy toward Japan. Sakata's recruitment as an MVD agent was reminiscent of the incentive used in recruiting Takemore. Both were extremely susceptible to the charms of the opposite sex. Sakata was assigned to Moscow during World War II. Being lonely, he established an acquaintance and later a close relationship with a Russian girl, who was in reality an MVD agent. This friendship between Sakata and the Russian girl, Galina, soon ripened into a more tangible relationship than a purely platonic friendship. After several months of this romance, the MVD designed a rather simple operation intended to involve Sakata to the point where his recruitment as a Soviet intelligence agent could be accomplished without any difficulty. Following the MVD scheme, while Sakata was not aware of the fact, every step he was forced to take was preplanned for him by Soviet intelligence. Galina was instructed to announce to Sakata that she was "pregnant" and request his assistance in performing "abortion," supposedly to relieve him of both financial and legal responsibility for the "expected" child. Abortions were at that time criminal offenses as stipulated by the Soviet criminal law. Realizing the consequences to him if a child would be born to Galina, Sakata agreed to finance the abortion, especially since she insisted that she was resorting to an abortion to protect his official reputation.

The "abortion" was performed by a Soviet "doctor" in his Moscow flat with Sakata waiting in an adjoining room during the operation; Sakata was amply supplied with all the sound effects necessary to convince him of the "suffering" his wife was undergoing, including hysterical screams and groans. At the most opportune moment, two MVD officers, dressed in police uniforms, broke into the flat and "arrested" all of the participants of the "crime," including Sakata. During the interrogation of those involved, in the Moscow police station, the consequences of revealing details of this event were presented to Sakata, together with an offer of suppression of the story if he agreed to become an agent for the

Soviet Intelligence Service in Japan. Sakata, lacking courage and concerned primarily with the consequences of this event upon his career, after a token resistance, accepted the MVD proposal. This masterful play, involving only MVD personnel playing the assigned roles in a simple scenario, netted the MVD one of the main agent figures in postwar Soviet espionage operations in Japan.

Occupying an important and a responsible post as a news correspondent, Sakata was in a position to supply Moscow with great quantities of valuable information which he was able to obtain by virtue of his numerous connections among the political leaders in Japan.

To the very end of his espionage career on behalf of the Soviet Intelligence Service, Sakata remained a true and dedicated "husband" of his Moscow "wife." Through his MVD superiors in Tokyo he kept forwarding to his "wife" in Moscow valuable presents, money, and sincerely romantic letters. In his innocence of MVD operating procedures and methods, Sakata could not know that immediately upon his departure from Moscow his "wife" was directed by the MVD to participate in other operations of a similar type, which involved other members of the foreign diplomatic missions and press agencies in Moscow. Eventually, long after the Sakata operation, Galina, his "wife," was assigned to cultivate a similar relationship with a member of the Turkish Embassy in Moscow. In this instance, however, she really fell in love with her intelligence target and categorically refused to follow the MVD instructions in regard to her current victim. This exhibition of a lack of discipline on her part resulted in a prompt MVD action against her. She was tried by the MVD and was sentenced to 10 years at hard labor in a Soviet concentration camp. Sakata, of course, was never informed of the fate of his wife and remained blissfully ignorant of the tragic developments. He continued his work for the MVD with the same sincere conviction that by following this course of action he was protecting her as well as himself.

In its widely spread areas of interest and activities, the MVD was always concerned with the subject of the "White Russian" emigres in Japan. A very intensive drive was conducted by the MVD to recruit those "White Russians" who were sympathetic to the Soviet cause and could be of use to the Soviet intelligence effort in Japan. In the immediate postwar period, while the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union was relatively normal, numerous "White Russian" emigres were employed by the American forces of occupation throughout Japan. These "White Russians" represented the prime target for exploitation by the Soviet intelligence, since they maintained extensive contact and friendships with the members of the occupying forces in Japan. The Soviet intelligence planned to use the "White Russians" recruited by the MVD in at least two capacities. One was to furnish to the MVD intelligence information, and the other, to spot likely American, British, Australian, and Japanese individuals for eventual recruitment as Soviet intelligence agents.

In the case of the projected selection of Japanese for MVD recruitment, the criteria established by the Soviets included one basic characteristic—the element of bitterness and hatred directed by the Japanese candidate toward the Americans and the British. As an illustration of this approach, I can cite an actual case of recruitment of a prominent Japanese engineer employed by an American construction company, having numerous contracts for the construction of secret military installations on Okinawa. The candidacy of this Japanese engineer was proposed to the Soviet intelligence representatives in Tokyo by an ex-White Russian, a Soviet agent, Afanas'yev. He suggested this Japanese engineer's candidacy for the Soviet espionage recruitment on the basis of a long-term friendship with him and because of the pronounced anti-American tendencies exhibited by the Japanese engineer. Since the Japanese engineer in his display of anti-American sentiment frequently reflected to Afanas'yev the desire to retaliate for the defeat of Japan, Afanas'yev reported this to the Soviet intelligence officer Vasily Savel'yev, who was working in the Soviet mission in Tokyo under the cover of a Soviet consular official, and directed Afanas'yev's activities as an agent for Soviet intelligence. Acting on the instructions of Savel'yev, Afanas'yev arranged a personal meeting at his house between the Japanese engineer and Savel'yev, for the purpose of initial assessment of the Japanese as a prospective Soviet agent. After receiving adequate proof as to the sincerity and the strength of the Japanese engineer's hatred toward the United States, Savel'yev offered him a practical way for retaliation against the United States, in the form of cooperation with the Soviet intelligence, MVD. The Japanese accepted Savel'yev's proposal without any hesitation and, from the initial period of his employment as a Soviet intelligence agent, demonstrated an unusual ambition and capacity for espionage work. All the

secret plans and documents of the American construction company engaged in the construction of secret installations on Okinawa to which the Japanese engineer had access, were made available by him to Savel'yev. These documents and plans were photostated at the Soviet mission in Tokyo, and while the originals were returned to the safes of the company responsible, so as not to arouse suspicion, the undeveloped film was forwarded to Moscow with members of the Soviet mission in Tokyo.

This was considered to be the safest way to forward sensitive materials which were the product of Soviet espionage in Japan, since no regular diplomatic pouch transmission was in effect after Japan regained its sovereignty, as a result of peace treaties with the Allied Powers.

A similar example of utilization of an ex-White Russian in Japan by the Soviet intelligence was represented by the case of Aksenov, who was recruited by the MVD in 1947. Aksenov, upon graduation from the medical school of Tokyo University, established for himself a reputation of a miraculous healer within the foreign colony in Tokyo, and especially among the members of the diplomatic corps, since they had little faith in medical assistance available to them locally. Aksenov, because of his personality, was able to impress his patients most favorably with his medical knowledge and with the ability to treat them. Since he was on excellent terms with the military members of the American occupation forces and with the foreign diplomats, especially the British, he was able, as a rule, to procure important information required by the MVD. His performance as a Soviet agent was especially valuable in the field of his reporting to the MVD the instances of his treatment of venereal diseases within the foreign colony in Tokyo, particularly involving married men who were members of the diplomatic establishments or military missions. This information was in great demand by the MVD, since the Soviet intelligence felt that through blackmail of Aksenov's patients the Soviets could recruit them for the Soviet espionage net.

As a reward for faithful service to the MVD, Aksenov was granted Soviet citizenship, although originally he was a "White Russian." His acceptance of the Soviet passport, however, was kept a strict secret, so as not to jeopardize his established foreign connections in Tokyo. In order to safeguard him from exposure, he was categorically forbidden to have any contact with the known Soviet citizens in the area, and particularly overt contact with the members of the Soviet mission in Tokyo. He was specifically instructed not to render to them any medical assistance, and not to display any sympathies toward the Soviet Union.

The efforts of the MVD directed against the refugees from the Soviet Union and the satellite countries, to induce their voluntary return to the Soviet control, were based not only upon the propaganda value of the results expected, but also in the undermining of the solidarity and the anti-Communist stand of the numerous emigre organizations, uncompromisingly conducting active and effective resistance work against the Soviet Union. Carrying on work in this direction is the responsibility of the MVD, which frequently employs as its instrument the ex-Russian emigres recruited by Soviet intelligence as its agents. In Tokyo, Afanas'yev and Aksenov, among others, were also involved in this work on behalf of the Soviet Union. A far more prominent figure however, in this field of Soviet endeavor in Japan, was another ex-Russian emigre, Michurin. He had, for a while, occupied the position of a chairman of the Society of Soviet Citizens in Japan, a pro-Soviet group composed almost exclusively of the ex-White Russians who by various means, frequently including espionage activities, had "regained" Soviet citizenship. Michurin represented a type of individual completely lacking moral principles, possessing an extremely narrow political horizon of a typical idealistic representative of intelligentsia. He escaped from Russia during the revolution and after spending many years in exile in Japan, lost whatever sense of realism he still possessed and decided to gain the favor of the Krenlin masters through espionage and other activities on their behalf. There were many other ex-Russian emigres, like Myasishchev and Voyevodin, active in Tokyo and throughout Japan, ready to go to any extreme in satisfying the demands of the representatives of the Soviet mission in Tokyo, in a desperate hope of redeeming their past and gaining Soviet forgiveness.

Toward the end of 1946, I was unexpectedly recalled from Tokyo and was sent to Moscow to appear before a Communist Party board to present testimony and an explanation concerning my failure to indicate a certain fact in one of the numerous questionnaires, which I was required to fill before going abroad. The inquiry was based on my "failure" to indicate that my father was expelled from the Communist Party in 1936. Although soon after my father's expulsion from the party he was reinstated, the fact according to Soviet standards was sufficiently

incriminating to compromise my position and to undermine the Soviet trust in my integrity. Three long years passed by before the central committee of the Communist Party again authorized my second assignment abroad, again to Japan.

In the meantime, my espionage activities directed at Japan took a new form and opened fresh areas for exploitation, even though physically I remained in the Soviet Union.

In 1947, the Politburo of the Communist Party authorized the formation of a special group composed of intelligence officers of the MVD and of the Intelligence Directorate of the Soviet Army General Staff. These groups were intended for conducting recruitment operations among the Japanese, the German, Spanish, and Italian prisoners of war held on the territory of the Soviet Union. The objective of these operations was to utilize the recruited agents for Soviet intelligence and Communist underground activities in their respective countries, upon their repatriation.

As far as Japan was concerned, we were instructed to recruit, as first priority, those Japanese prisoners of war in Soviet hands, who were: (1) related to the Imperial family, (2) former leading political personalities, (3) former businessmen, (4) member of the Japanese press, (5) scientists, (6) technical specialists, (7) medical doctors, etc. The Soviet Government considered that the men in the above categories would eventually establish themselves in sufficiently responsible positions within the social structure of Japan to be of distinct value to the Soviet intelligence organs.

We were also instructed to recruit young educated men, related to or having ties and affiliations with the old prominent Japanese families. The individuals were to be utilized as clandestine communications links, as the keepers of clandestine houses for agent meetings, and also as radio operators for the operations of secret radio transmitters and receivers.

Particular attention was paid by the MVD to the possibility of infiltration of the Japanese prisoners of war into the newly formed Japanese armed forces, police and into other organs of Japanese internal security. With this in mind, the MVD recruited a considerable number of former high-ranking officers of the Japanese Army and also former high-ranking officials of the Japanese intelligence and counterintelligence services. It was assumed by the MVD that a certain percentage of the recruited Japanese personnel in the above category had excellent prospects of obtaining responsible positions in the new Japanese security agencies, since there is usually a constant shortage of skilled and experienced intelligence officers.

In the conduct of this operation, since it involved an approach on a wide front, the participants in it were divided into groups and sent to prisoner of war camps. The recruitment activities were concentrated in the camps located at Tashkent, Karaganda, Yelabuga, in the region of Krasnoyarsk, Ulan Ude, Chita, in Khabarovsk, Komsomolsk, Raichikhinsk, Birobidzhan, Vladivostok, and in other areas throughout the Soviet Union.

I was directed to proceed to Khabarovsk, since in this region were concentrated numerous camps of Japanese prisoners of war. In order to conceal the fact that I was a member of the Soviet intelligence service, I was provided with documents and the uniform of captain from the directorate of prisoner of war camps.

The initial step in my approach toward this task which was entrusted to me was to analyze personnel files pertaining to the Japanese prisoners of war who fell under my jurisdiction. I was located in the office of headquarters MVD in Khabarovsk, and literally thousands of personnel files were delivered to me there for my study and conclusions in each individual case.

The technique used in the recruitment was not at all involved. It consisted of the selection of likely Japanese candidates for the "internal informant" tasks. These men reported on other inmates of the prisoner of war camps and were required to submit the reports to Soviet authorities in written form. The internal informant frequently received a monetary reward for his performance and was required to sign a receipt to that effect. As a rule, in order to exert strong psychological pressure upon the individuals already employed as internal informants, they were called into the Soviet administrative office of the camp to receive an expression of official appreciation for the informant work they performed. Frequently they were told that as a result of the information they provided, certain prisoners of war, and names were given, were subjected to severe punishment—which, as a rule corresponded with actual facts.

This inhumane approach by the MVD was most effective for the purposes for which it was intended, since it greatly facilitated the local procurement of candidates who were coerced into work for Soviet intelligence in Japan. The majority

of Japanese prisoners of war raised no objections to being recruited and collaborating with the MVD. This lack of resistance to Soviet approaches, even to the amazement of the MVD officers engaged in this operation, could be explained simply on the grounds of the intolerable living conditions maintained within the camps. The principle followed by the Soviet authorities responsible for the administration of the prisoner of war camps, as I frequently heard it stated, was: "The more of them who perish, the less trouble there will be in the future." There is no doubt in my mind, on the evidence available to me and on the basis of my personal observations, that the Kremlin leadership had designed this policy and stood behind its implementation.

The lack of reluctance to cooperate with the MVD, on the part of the Japanese prisoners of war can be explained by the readiness of most of them to conclude any type of an agreement with anyone, including the devil himself, if necessary—anything, to get out of the Soviet Union alive.

The death rate was exceedingly and unnecessarily high among the prisoners of war. The lack of proper sanitary conditions, especially during the severe Siberian winters, on half-starvation rations containing only lowest quality black bread, decayed potatoes and some salted cabbage, were in part responsible for the epidemics prevailing throughout those camps. The medical care provided by the Soviets was either nonexistent, or limited to such primitive treatment as castor oil, as the universal remedy against all ailments. Major Pokrovskiy of the MVD, one of the leading officials within the directorate for administration of prisoner of war camps, in Khabarovsk region, very cynically and unemotionally painted the picture of actual conditions with just the words: "Japanese are dying like flies."

As an illustration of the pitiful conditions prevailing throughout the prisoner of war camps I would like to cite my conversation with the Soviet commander of camp No. 16 located at Khabarovsk. He was an accomplished and confirmed alcoholic whose habit it was to hide empty vodka bottles around his office. With him drinking became a necessity and a prop with which he managed to maintain his combatant administrative spirit and prestige. He obviously felt that the moral support provided to him by the portrait of Stalin hanging behind his desk was totally inadequate to support his morale, and strong measures like vodka were required to supplement the photographic likeness of the "father of all people," Stalin.

This commander of camp No. 16, "the pillar of the Soviet order," while in a state of drunken stupor, told me about the fire which took place one night early in 1948, burning down the barracks which were occupied by Japanese prisoners of war. The Japanese, awakened by the roar of the fire and aware of the danger to their lives, nevertheless decided to run for the kitchens within the barracks in order to fill their shrunken stomachs with the thin soup prepared and stored there for the following morning. Constant semistarvation conditions overruled their natural self-preservation instinct, and their hunger drove them to overlook the danger involved in their behavior. As a result, over 100 Japanese perished in the fire. Those who survived were immediately placed into isolation and stricken off the repatriation lists, in order to prevent the news from spreading and becoming widely known throughout the prisoner of war camps and in Japan.

No accurate record was maintained by the Soviet authorities of the Japanese dead who perished as a result of starvation and epidemics. Khrushchev and his "collective corulers" with all the flirting currently directed to Japan, must be having a severe case of indigestion, attempting to find an "innocent" explanation, satisfactory to the demands of the Japanese people. Khrushchev and company are well aware of the deep interest, concern, and the sympathy of many of the Japanese families and the Japanese Government for the tens of thousands of Japanese prisoners in Soviet hands, who have disappeared without a trace.

I do not exclude the possibility that the Soviets today, led by Khrushchev and playing the role of "innocent lambs," would soon find a way to evolve some elaborate explanation for the disappearance of the Japanese in Soviet camps, attaching the blame to Stalin and disclaiming all the responsibility for the atrocities from the Soviet clique presently in power. This is a typical and integral part of the Communist pattern of behavior, regardless of the personality heading the regime at the time—Stalin, Lenin, Malenkov, or Khrushchev.

While deprived of food, the Japanese prisoners of war were given a substitute for it in the form of a heavy diet of political reorientation and Communist indoctrination. Soviet leadership took into consideration the support which the returning Japanese prisoners of war could offer to the Soviet cause, if these Japanese were to be converted to the Communist way of thinking.

This support was to express itself in a form of reinforcement of the ranks in the Japanese Communist Party, and infiltration into the Socialist Party, especially to strengthen its extreme left elements. The initial results of the Soviet planning became obvious in May 1951 during the Communist-sponsored demonstrations ordered by the Kremlin throughout Japan.

To carry out the program for the Communist indoctrination of the Japanese throughout the camps, the Soviets formed a special political department staffed by experienced political instructors. The prisoners of war were segregated into two categories. The first category incorporated the Japanese prisoners of war who were labeled as "progressive." The second contained individuals who were referred to as the "reactionaries," or the Japanese who resisted Communist indoctrination.

It is a fact that the majority of Japanese who joined the ranks of "progressives" did so not on the basis of pro-Communist sympathies, but primarily to expedite their return to Japan, to obtain from the Soviets some privileges, like better food, clothing, and lighter work. "Reactionaries," however, were heavily penalized for their reluctance to submit to the Communists. They were intentionally loaded with excessive work schedules, and life generally was made hard for them. This in turn led to an increased death rate among them, the result well anticipated by the Soviets.

With the initiation of repatriation to Japan, the "progressives" were given a preferential treatment. Those who were suspected of anti-Soviet feelings, or those who had previously held high-ranking positions in the Japanese Army, in the intelligence or counterintelligence organizations, police, and in the Government all were denied repatriation, or it was indefinitely postponed.

In 1948: Soviet intelligence agents who had been recruited while they were prisoners were beginning to infiltrate Japan with the first parties of repatriants. The agents recruited from among the "progressives" were, prior to repatriation, transferred on an individual basis to the camps of the "reactionaries." They were thoroughly instructed not to reveal their Soviet sympathies and connections with the Soviet authorities. They were careful not to arouse any suspicions among the unsuspecting prisoners of the new camp, and were able to get back to Japan without being identified as the "progressives."

The work of the intelligence groups, engaged in the recruitment of Japanese prisoners of war, continued up to my second departure for Tokyo from the Soviet Union, in 1950. My colleagues, later arrivals in Tokyo, informed me of the Soviet policy decision to continue the recruitment of the agents from among the Japanese in the Soviet Union. One major change now was to expand the program and concentrate on the recruitment of the so-called war criminals, members of the Japanese Army and Government who were captured by the Soviets and condemned to varying terms of prison confinement.

All Japanese recruited by the Soviets as intelligence agents were required to follow an established procedure of commitment. They confirmed their agreement to work for the Soviets by a written statement. The statement contained a number of political declarations to "fight for the establishment of a Communist regime in Japan," "to fight for the destruction of the Emperor since he is responsible for the crimes against the Japanese people," etc. The Soviet intent behind the inclusion of such statements was to obtain compromising material against the agent, revelation of which would later prove to be damaging to his reputation, should he refuse to continue his espionage activities for the Soviets. The underlying idea of the Soviet Government in the recruitment of the Japanese prisoners of war as Soviet intelligence agents was based on long-range exploitation of them, over a period from 5 to 20 years after the initial Soviet recruitment. This was considered to be the safe approach for the utilization of agent personnel of this type, since, in time, the Japanese counterintelligence effort directed against prisoners of war returning to Japan would diminish in intensity and would gradually cease. These agents, then, would become available for infiltration into positions of responsibility and into sensitive jobs, without being questioned as possible internal security risks.

With this in mind, with a few exceptions, most of the agents were instructed by the MVD to maintain themselves away from any "disloyal" activity in Japan; to build up a respectable reputation for themselves; to establish before the Japanese authorities a record of pretended animosity against the Soviet Union; and to express hatred toward Communist ideology. These agents were also categorically forbidden to associate with the leftist political organizations and especially with the Japanese Communist Party. Strict instructions were issued to the agents not to attempt to establish contact with Soviet intelligence representatives. The exceptions to these rules were individuals who soon after

repatriation obtained important positions in Japan vital from the Soviet intelligence point of view. These agents, if circumstances were sufficiently important and favorable for exploitation, were utilized within their capabilities by the MVD.

Each Soviet agent was instructed in the use of passwords for identification purposes, to be used by the Soviet intelligence officer in contacting the Japanese agent. Soviet intelligence maintained complete files of particulars pertaining to names, addresses, special characteristics, peculiarities, etc., of the friends, relatives, and acquaintances of an agent. This information is maintained to assure success for the Soviet intelligence representatives, seeking to establish contact with an agent in Japan.

The results of Soviet recruitment operations among the Japanese prisoners of war brought the total number of Soviet intelligence agents by 1950 to approximately 500 Japanese. This number did not include the "internal informants" recruited by MVD counterintelligence organs since they are considered to be strictly a "potential agent pool" by Soviet intelligence. The size of the "potential agent pool" reached an impressive figure of over 8,000 men. Similar estimates can be obtained in measuring the effectiveness of the MVD recruitment drive against the German, Italian, and Spanish prisoners of war in Soviet hands. Since I was deeply involved in the operations covering the Japanese, the figures I cite here are based on accurate Soviet MVD statistics.

The recruitment by the MVD of Soviet agents from among the Japanese prisoners of war extended beyond the confines of the Soviet Union and took place in Manchuria during the immediate postwar period. Later, with the establishment throughout China of the Communist regime, the recruitment became the direct function of the Chinese Communist intelligence organs with the direct participation of the Soviet MVD advisory group. This group was headed by Lieutenant General Langfang, who prior to this period was in charge of the overall recruitment effort within the Soviet Union.

During the Korean war, Soviet intelligence combined its efforts with those of its Chinese Communist counterpart in the exploitation and recruitment of the captured members of the U. N. forces in Korea. The main effort was again concentrated on American and British nationals.

My second assignment to Japan coincided with the Kremlin-engineered attack by the North Korean Communists upon the South Korean Republic. This was a period of maximum Soviet military effort which followed the adventurist blitzkrieg patterns of Hitlerite Germany, which formerly the Soviet leadership so vocally and so bitterly attacked. Now, since it served Communist purposes, it was found to be completely acceptable and justified. The consequence of the Soviet instigation of the hostilities in Korea was the expansion and acceleration of Soviet intelligence effort by the MVD and the Soviet military intelligence organizations throughout Japan. These were directed toward the collection of information concerning military operations, plans, and personnel of the U. N. forces in the Far East. Every effort was made to penetrate General MacArthur's staff in Tokyo, including the use of Japanese agents. In the spring of 1951, MVD and Soviet military intelligence representatives in Tokyo received urgent instructions from Moscow, emphasizing the necessity for contacting the Soviet agents who had been recruited from the Japanese prisoners of war and who were currently residing in Japan. Moscow stated that these agents, once activated, could procure information vital to the Soviet operations in the Korean theater.

The difficulties encountered by the Tokyo representatives of Soviet intelligence, in the implementation of the instructions received from Moscow, were fully reflected in the methods of contacting its Japanese agents. The appearance of a foreigner, and especially of a Soviet from the mission, would have immediately discredited the agent and made him a suspect of the Japanese security forces. Taking advantage of the Japanese elections to the Parliament, occurring throughout Japan, the Soviet mission embarked on an ingenious scheme of sending its "observers" supposedly to supervise the accuracy and the conduct of the "democratic procedures." Among these Soviet observers were scattered Soviet intelligence officers who used the scheme as a vehicle to contact Japanese agents throughout the country under the guise of politically interviewing a general cross section of the Japanese voters. This method almost completely assured the security of the contact and the protection of Soviet agent connections. I was engaged in a similar type of operation in Tokyo and was successful in establishing contact with Tamura, a former Japanese prisoner of war, recruited as a Soviet agent while in the Tashkent camp. I called on him at his home, as an "observer" for the Soviet Government. I found him at home as I expected, because to assure the contact we scheduled our "visits" sufficiently early in the morning to assure success in our

undertaking. Tamura was employed as an adviser to the Japanese Ministry of Finance and, because of his friendship with Ikeda, one of the leaders of the Conservative Party, and later the Minister of Finance. Tamura was considered by Soviet intelligence to be one of its most valuable assets.

During election day we in the Soviet mission established contact with over 30 Japanese agents who had been recruited in the Soviet Union.

In September of 1951 I established contact with a former Japanese staff officer, Major Shii. He was at this time employed in an advisory capacity by G-2, of GHQ, under General MacArthur. Shii was one of the most important suppliers of military information involving the operational plans of the U. N. Command in Korea.

The connection between the MVD and the Japanese Communist Party was established on a firm foundation in the summer of 1951. Instrumental in accomplishing this was one of the oldest officers of the MVD intelligence, Colonel Shibayev. He arrived in Japan in the spring of 1951, under the cover of an adviser of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While his mission to Japan consisted of two major parts, the one dealing with the control and supervision of the activities of the Japanese Communist Party in Japan was the more involved. The other part of the mission I have discussed in detail in my series of articles in the American magazine, *Life*. It dealt with the exploitation of the Soviet contact with American CIC and G-2 organizations of the GHQ of General MacArthur.

Shibayev came to Japan to act in accordance with the instructions which he received directly from the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, to establish an underground contact between the Soviet mission in Tokyo and the Japanese Communist Party in Japan. Prior to his arrival, this contact was maintained by a representative of Soviet military intelligence (GRU), Colonel Sonin, who at the time did not use his real name since he claimed to represent the Soviet news agency TASS. This responsibility for liaison with the Japanese Communist Party was later taken over by the Soviet military intelligence officer, Captain Yegorov.

In November 1951, upon the departure of Shibayev from Japan, his mission was taken over by Colonel Kotelnikov, who claimed to occupy the position of the chief of the consular section of the Soviet mission in Tokyo. His operations are well known to me, because I acted as his aide and his chauffeur, since the regular MVD driver assigned this function was not permitted to participate in this type of operation due to its extremely high security classification by Soviet intelligence.

The first operational meeting with a member of the Japanese party, in which I participated, was held with a respectable looking "gentleman" about 50 years old. He reminded me of a successful Japanese businessman, soft-spoken, with excellent manners, and obviously not used to physical tasks involving any amount of exertion, hardly a representative of a "proletarian mass" which he obviously represented. The meeting was held in the Mita region of Tokyo. Judging by his general behavior, he must have had extensive experience in clandestine work.

During the second meeting, which took place soon after the first one, this Japanese Communist received 300,000 American dollars from Kotelnikov. The money was delivered from Moscow to Tokyo by Soviet diplomatic couriers, especially earmarked for delivery to "RON," the pseudonym assigned to this Japanese Communist by the MVD. The second meeting was held in the Meguro region. It was apparent that RON expected to receive funds during this meeting since he was accompanied by four Japanese Communists, all of them armed with weapons. This precaution was probably taken by RON to assure his safety, since the meeting was held on a dark, deserted street.

The second transmission of funds for the Japanese Communist Party operations took place in spring of 1953. Because of the growing difficulties for the Soviet delivery of funds from the Soviet Union to Tokyo, due to lack of diplomatic recognition of Japan by the Soviet Union, the Central Committee in Moscow instructed us to make the payment in Japanese currency. The money was obtained from various firms which handled the rental of Soviet movie films in Japan. The total sum amounted to several millions of Japanese yen. In addition, we obtained 15,000 American dollars which had been buried at different sites around Tokyo, and transmitted these to RON. This sum was initially intended by the Soviets for payments to the Japanese intelligence agents operating in Japan on behalf of the Soviet Union. With the conclusion of the peace treaty between the Allies and Japan, the Soviets expected the expulsion of the Soviet mission from Tokyo; the extraordinary decision was therefore reached to transfer the funds by turning them over to RON, to finance Communist operations in Japan which required heavier subsidization with their expansion.

My analysis of RON's reports indicated to me how deeply the agents of the Japanese Communist Party managed to infiltrate into the governmental organs of Japan. It included even the offices of the various ministers from the Cabinet of Yoshida, and the security organs of Japan. Several times, quite accidentally, I managed to see the translations of the various special reports submitted by "RON" to the MVD for immediate transmission to Moscow. Among these were complete reports of secret conferences of the Cabinet, a detailed record of Yoshida's discussions with MacArthur and with Dulles, not to mention the record of Yoshida's discussions of various subjects with the American Ambassador to Japan. The value of the intelligence work performed by the Japanese Communist Party proved especially effective and valuable during the Korean war. Soviet intelligence was also able to obtain through the medium of the Japanese Communist Party information concerning the exchange of views between the American and the British Governments concerning the proposal of General MacArthur for aerial attacks against industrial and military targets located in Manchuria.

The Communist Party of Japan was also used by the MVD, in a support role, to check on spotted candidates for recruitment, for locating agents formerly recruited whose whereabouts were unknown, and for other similar tasks.

CONCLUSIONS

The present leadership of the Kremlin, following the direction established by Lenin, firmly believes that the Communist path toward the conquest of the world lies in the direction of the countries of the Far East.

The current Soviet policy of "peaceful competition with the capitalist nations" permits a more rapid rate of Communist advance toward its established objective than it was able to achieve previously, by other radical means. The intermediate objectives of the Soviet Government, actually referred to as "the first stage of advance," are: (1) The neutralization of the free countries of the East, and their insulation from the influence of the democratic bloc of the non-Communist world; and (2) the submission of these countries to Soviet influence through the medium of economic infiltration, diplomatic machinations, and political subversion—through the mass application of Communist propaganda, among other means.

The Communist parties within the free areas of the world still remain the most effective instruments available to the Kremlin in its aggressive designs toward world conquest.

The loud denials of the Communist leadership, directed to mislead and to confuse the world, are still unable to conceal the "master and the slave" relationships existing between Moscow and the Communists outside of the Moscow orbit.

The downgrading of Stalin as the guiding light of the modern Communist conspiracy, and the concurrent free criticism of the Soviet Union Communist Party policies in this matter, by the affiliated Communist organizations throughout the world, represents just another demonstration of the Kremlin's ability to manipulate its Communist puppets to suit its purposes. All this forms a part of the current Soviet scheme to confuse the Socialist parties of the free world and, in accordance with the decisions and the resolutions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to form with the Socialists a united front, thus advancing Communist objectives by a "parliamentary method"—at least for the time being.

Realistically aware of the importance of Japan to the stability of the free world, the leaders in the Kremlin are now attempting to gain direct physical access to Japan. They intend to achieve this without satisfying even the minimum of Japan's terms. The Soviets certainly will not return to Japan any of the valuable territories acquired by them at Japanese expense. Instead, the Kremlin is attempting to establish diplomatic relations with Japan through such minor concessions, although vitally important to Japan's livelihood, as the fishing rights for the Japanese in the Soviet Pacific waters.

While this alone is clearly inadequate to overcome Japanese resistance and reluctance to accept the Soviet proposals, the Kremlin reinforced its hand by sending to Japan Sergei Tikhvinskiy, supposedly to conduct the negotiations. In reality, however, Tikhvinskiy is entrusted by the Soviet Government not only with the conduct of diplomatic negotiations in Japan but mainly with the development of a more adequate Soviet liaison and control over the activities of the Japanese Communist Party. The Kremlin has every reason to expect Tikhvinskiy to succeed in his assigned missions in Japan. He is a master of

espionage, subversion, and the manipulation of Communists in the Far East. He was my colleague and a close associate in the Soviet Intelligence Service. He well combines the talents of a diplomat with the highly developed qualities of a espionage agent. His experience in espionage is not limited to England, or to the United Nations Organization in New York, but is concentrated primarily in the Far East. He spent a considerable amount of time on various intelligence assignments throughout China, before and during World War II. He speaks fluent Japanese and Chinese, as well as fluent English. The results of his subversive work for the Soviet cause in China were considered to be spectacular. The reputation he has acquired among his superiors in the MVD indicates that Japan today is a major Soviet objective. The Soviet Government, while shielding Tikhvinskiy with a diplomatic assignment, expects him to exhibit his intelligence talents to the fullest extent in Japan—to gain the immediate Soviet objectives, and to establish a firm foundation for the attainment of the ultimate Soviet goal, the conversion of Japan into a puppet.

The Soviet espionage machine is again functioning in Japan as the first line of attack, and unless its capabilities are recognized and its effectiveness blunted, the expectations of its Kremlin masters will be fulfilled. I know—I spent my entire life in its service.

YURI RASTVOROV.

NEW YORK, July 1956.

(The following letters from Chairman Eastland to Hon. Robert Hill, Assistant Secretary of State, and to Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, chief of the United States delegation to the United Nations, regarding testimony of the witness, Yuri Rastvorov about Sergei Tishvinski, a Soviet official in Japan, were ordered into the record at a meeting of the subcommittee on June 21, 1956:)

MAY 31, 1956.

HON. ROBERT HILL,
*Assistant Secretary of Congressional Relations,
Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.*

DEAR MR. HILL: I herewith transmit portions of executive session testimony of Yuri Rastvorov which was put into the public record today.

The testimony relates to the activities with the Soviet Secret Police of Sergei Tichvinski who is now head of a trade mission in Japan. I ask that you transmit this to the Japanese Ambassador here in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

MAY 31, 1956.

HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR.,
*The Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations,
2 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.*

DEAR MR. LODGE: According to information received from the Biographical Division of the State Department, Mr. Sergei Tichvinski has been in the United States on three different occasions: September 19 to December 16, 1950; October 13 to December 9, 1952; and February 23 to March 27, 1953. On these occasions, we are informed he was here as an expert with the Soviet delegation to the United Nations.

Today the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee placed into the record the testimony of Yuri Rastvorov, formerly attached to the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo, who described the long career of Sergei Tichvinski as a Soviet intelligence agent. We enclose a copy of this testimony. In view of the disclosures contained therein, we consider that it would be in the interest of our national security to know exactly what activities Mr. Tichvinski engaged in while in this country.

Would you kindly inquire through the channels of the United Nations and let us know what information is available.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

(The following newspaper articles were ordered into the record at a hearing on June 5, Senator Jenner, presiding:)

[New York Times, May 30, 1956]

JAPAN RECOGNIZES SOVIET DELEGATE

TOKYO GRANTS OFFICIAL STATUS BUT CONTINUES TO BAR TIES WITHOUT
PEACE TREATY

TOKYO, May 29.—Japan's Premier stiffened his attitude on Tokyo's differences with Moscow today, but the Soviet Union apparently scored a minor victory. It obtained official status for its representation here.

Premier Ichiro Hatoyama, answering opposition Socialist questions in the lower house of the Diet (Parliament), indicated Japan would continue to resist the Soviet effort to reestablish diplomatic relations without first signing a peace treaty.

He also said Japan had not given up her claim for return of inherent Japanese territory occupied by the Soviet Union since World War II.

Japan had asked for the immediate return of the two southern islands of the Kurile chain and the tiny Habomai and Shikotan Islands near Hokkaido, with the status of the other Kuriles and Southern Sakhalin to be adjudicated later.

Moscow had agreed to return the Habomai and Shikotan Islands, but declined to consider disposition of the others. Peace-treaty negotiations in London were broken off on this issue last March. Japan has agreed to resume the talks by July 31.

ADJUSTMENT TO BE SOUGHT

Mr. Hatoyama said that, in view of the Kremlin's adamant position, the Tokyo government would seek an "adjustment of thinking of the two countries" on the problem. He did not elaborate, but Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu told the Diet later that the Japanese policy on the territorial question "has undergone no change."

Mr. Shigemitsu said, however, that the Japanese Government would recognize Sergei Tikhvinsky, new head of the Soviet mission that has remained here unofficially since the occupation, as a Soviet official "for disposing of fishing problems."

Ichiro Kono, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, told the lower house he had balked Soviet pressure to link a temporary fishing agreement for 1956 to a peace treaty or restoration of diplomatic relations.

He said that after the Russians had consented to the agreement, they suddenly refused to sanction a Japanese salmon catch of 65,000 tons in Soviet-controlled waters this year—much less than the normal catch—unless relations of the 2 countries were "normalized."

This was too much for Mr. Kono, he said, but the agreement was finally reached after intervention by Soviet Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin.

[Washington Daily News, May 28, 1956]

TRIUMPH FOR TICHVINSKY—"DOWN WITH KONO WHO SOLD JAPAN"

TOKYO, May 28—Japan's eager but unrealistic politicians have been duped into recognizing a Soviet espionage agency in exchange for a handful of dead fish.

That's the first result of Agriculture Minister Ichiro Kono's pied piper dance through Russia and the United States. Later results may be worse.

Kono's "victory" in getting permission for Japanese fleets to take 65,000 tons of fish out of the self-styled Russian seas has amounted to de facto recognition of the Soviets' unofficial trade mission here.

That means diplomatic recognition, official or otherwise, for Sergei Tichvinsky, a Soviet hot shot rushed to Tokyo when Japan's foreign policy began wavering under the vagaries of aging and ailing Premier Hatoyama.

WHO?

Who is Tichvinsky? The Japanese Foreign Office isn't sure even of his age. He is balding, bespectacled and fortyish, and the new head of a "trade" mission that is a proved espionage agency.

One top free-world intelligence agency claims he is the man who engineered the Burgess-MacLean scandal in which two British diplomats of questionable character flopped to the Communist side.

Almost surely he is an MVD colonel, one of the most trusted in the younger set of the Kremlin hierarchy. He proved himself in China in the days when the Communists were outmaneuvering the foresaken regime of Chiang Kai-shek.

SCHOLAR

Tichvinsky also is a scholar—he carries a plausible and perhaps prophetic degree of doctor of history. One certainty is that he speaks excellent English, French, and Chinese. Soon he will speak Japanese.

Kono, ambitious but naïve, agreed that further fishing negotiations would be through Tichvinsky's agency. Tichvinsky immediately announced he would like to intervene in the case of a kidnaped Japanese ship, but could not because official recognition was denied. Even the most realistic conservatives agree he no longer can be ignored.

The next day Tichvinsky gave a speech to a sympathetic group of Parliament members stressing coexistence and the beautiful brotherliness of recent Soviet disarmament proposals. That is not bad for a man who arrived here only May 13.

The whole thing is another spike in the political coffin of Mamoru Shigemitsu, Japan's realistic Foreign Minister, who is trying to keep a measure of national pride and integrity in dealings with the Russians.

Shigemitsu will be crowded out before long for political reasons. His epitaph, perhaps, was the crowd of 10,000 (partly engineered by fishing interests) who greeted Kono on his return to Tokyo Airport.

A straggly and overwhelmed group of 30 carried banners saying, "Down with Kono who sold Japan."

(The following news release by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, dated June 30, was ordered into the record during a committee hearing on July 16, 1956:)

What has happened to Stalin's MVD-controlled church? Many charges of wrongdoing have been hurled at the dead Soviet leader, but so far no mention has been made of Stalin's cynical scheme to take over the Russian Orthodox Church.

Further evidence that Soviet secret police actually dominated the church under Stalin's direction was made known today by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The information comes from a prepublication copy of *Empire of Fear*, a new book by Vladimir Petrov, Soviet diplomat who defected in Australia.

In the book, Petrov says that Maj. Gen. G. G. Karpov, a permanent career officer of the NKVD, made "an assiduous and exhaustive study of Russian Orthodox ceremonies, ordinances, and theological teaching, and was able to converse earnestly and learnedly with the church dignitaries on their own ground."

Stalin suggested that the "character and erudition of Karpov made him an ideal man" to represent the church on the Soviet Council of Ministers, the book says.

"I have seen Karpov. In 1951 he was minister for cults and religious affairs and may still hold that office. His NKVD training would be a valuable preparation for the post. After all, Stalin studied in a theological seminary," Petrov declares.

Petrov's work corroborates more extensive testimony on Karpov given April 12 before the subcommittee by Lt. Col. Yuri Rastvorov, who defected from Soviet secret police in Tokyo in 1954.

Rastvorov said the church has been penetrated by MVD agents who actually attended seminaries and became priests. Since then two of those agents have become bishops.

"They were officers of MVD, pure counterintelligence officers in MVD," Rastvorov said.

Karpov, as chairman of the religious committee of the Council of Ministers of the U. S. S. R., ostensibly maintains liaison between church and Government, "but practically (he) keeps the church under complete control," Rastvorov said.

While he was in Japan, Rastvorov said he participated in an attempt by Soviet agents to take over the Russian Orthodox Church in Tokyo. Under Karpov's directions, the agents tried to persuade church members to accept two priests from the Soviet Union.

But the congregation refused to accept the priests. In addition, the Allied occupation forces did not admit them into the country. So the plan failed.

In 1949, Karpov himself was the author of an article in the *New York Daily Worker* in which he righteously proclaimed that "the Soviet Government has never persecuted anyone for professing one creed or another, or for belonging to a religious organization of one kind or another."

Karpov said that, following the October Revolution, some members of the clergy used the church in an attempt to restore the "Czarist autoecracy."

"The Soviet Government was therefore compelled to take measures, in conformity with justice and necessity, in order to isolate the most actively hostile members of the clergy," Karpov wrote.

Eventually church representatives came around, Karpov noted, and "now admit that the measures taken were not persecutions against religion or the church."

The article continued:

"The clergy more and more abandoned the false road of struggle against the Soviet Government; more and more the clergy supported the measures of the Soviet Government, and this in turn gradually led to a change in the attitude of the Soviet Government toward the church and its leaders."

That was in 1949 when Joseph Stalin was at a height of power.

Now Stalin's body rests in Red Square, but present party leaders have given his memory no rest, and many of Stalin's pet projects have been abandoned.

It will be interesting to see if General Karpov will be deposed from his lofty position by Khrushchev.

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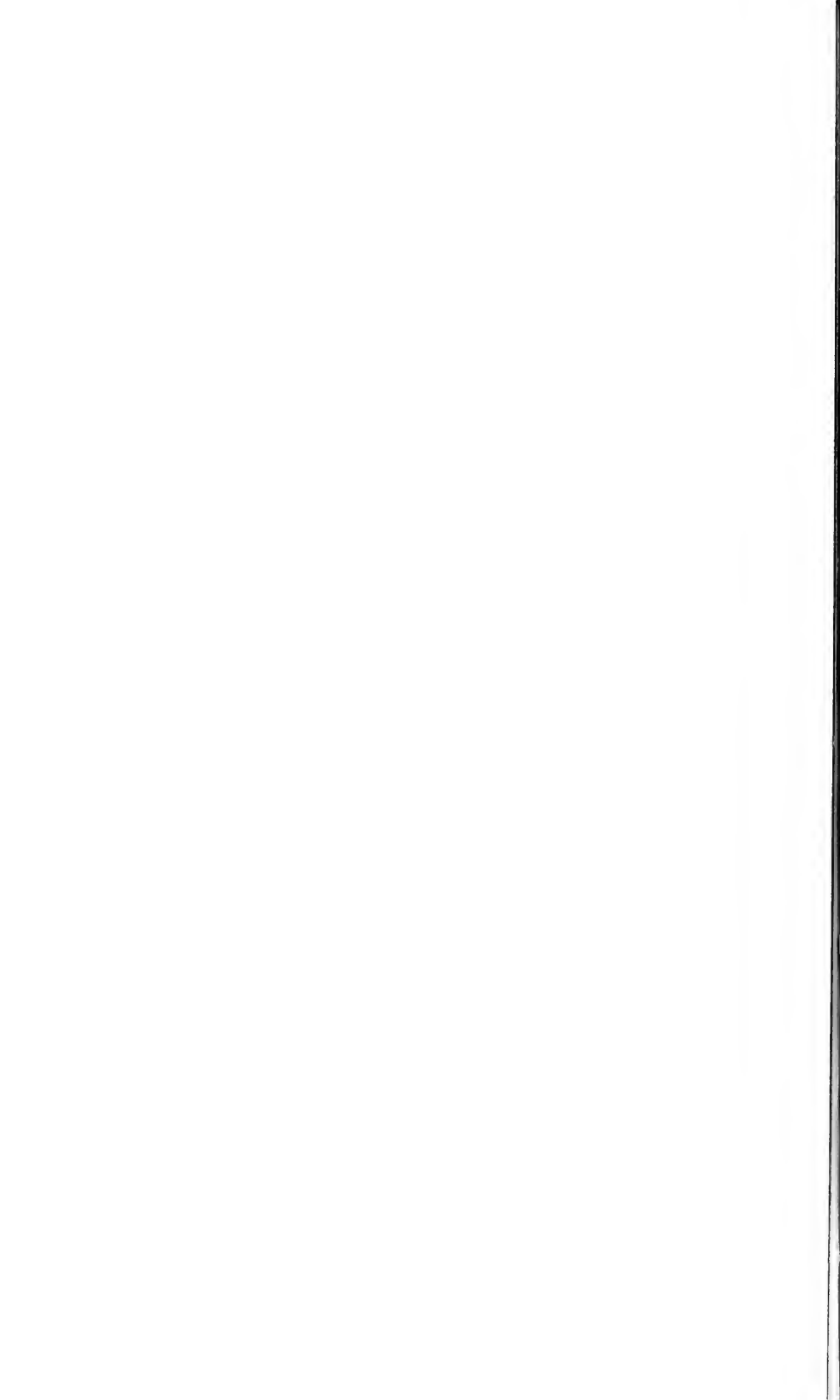
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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

APRIL 17, 1956

PART 15

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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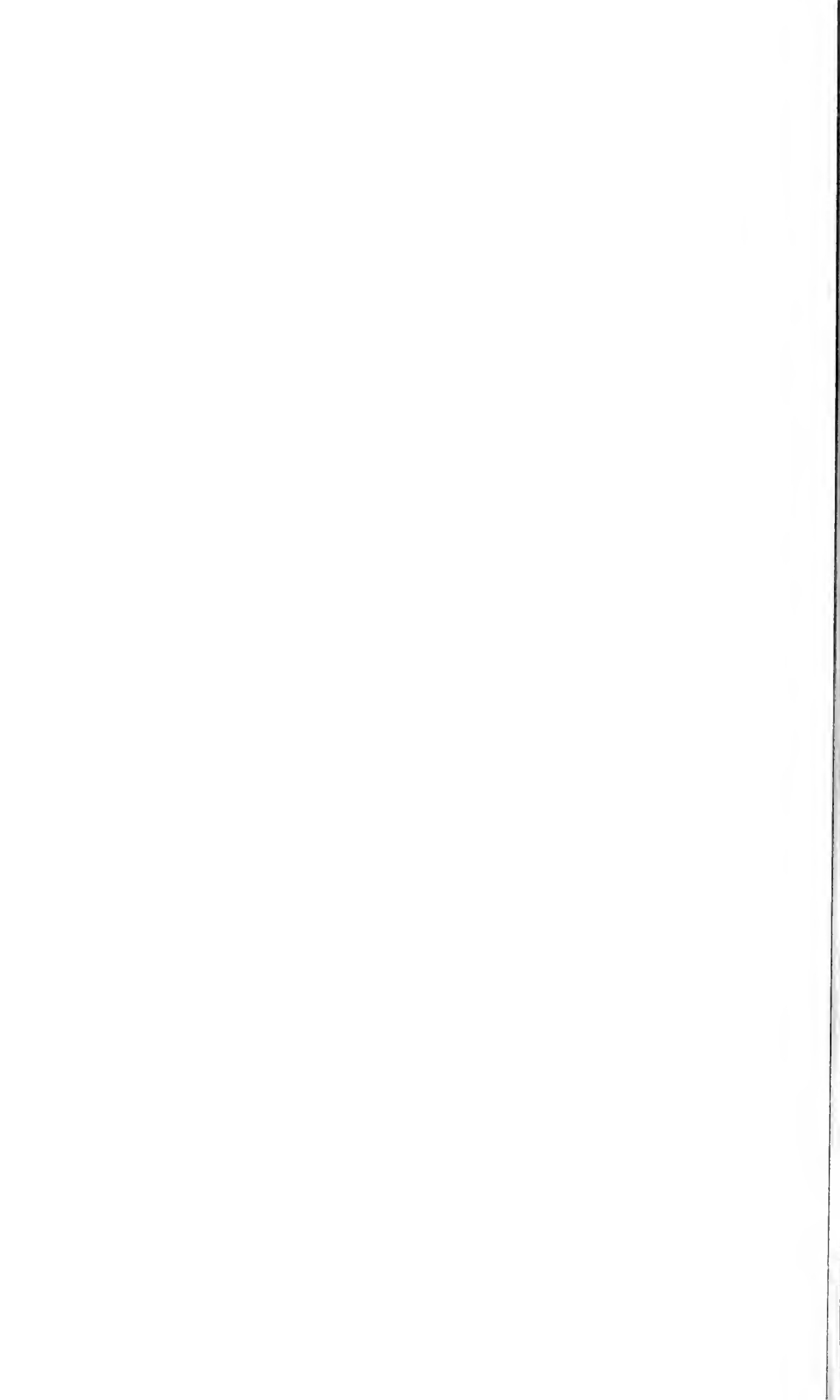
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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, APRIL 17, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:40 a. m., in the caucus room, Senate Office Building, Senator Herman Welker presiding.

Present: Senators Welker and Johnston.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and William A. Rusher, administrative counsel.

Senator WELKER. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, while we are waiting for the witnesses to appear this morning, I would like to offer for the record some items that are pertinent to the inquiry which is the subject of this hearing this morning.

This morning we are examining the role and the nature of the individual American citizens who are now working and who have worked in the past for the Tass News Agency, this in the general framework of the series of hearings being conducted by the Internal Security Subcommittee to determine the nature and the scope of Soviet activity in the United States.

Senator WELKER. Counsel, do these exhibits have anything whatsoever to do with the witnesses who are hereafter to be called?

Mr. MORRIS. It has to do with the general nature of Tass News Agency and how it operates in the United States.

Senator WELKER. The question is, does it have anything to do with the witnesses hereafter to be called?

Mr. MORRIS. I cannot say directly, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Then we had better wait until they are here, because I do not want any testimony taken nor exhibits put in until the witnesses are on the stand.

Mr. MORRIS. Very well, Senator.

Counsel, will you come forward? I think Mrs. Hall will be the first witness. We will call the ladies first, Senator.

Mr. FORER. May we ask that no photographs be taken, Mr. Chairman?

Senator WELKER. The only authority that I have is while the witness is testifying. I have no control over the photographers, until that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Hall, will you stand, please, and be sworn?

Senator WELKER. Mrs. Hall, do you solemnly swear the testimony you give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. HALL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF EUPHEMIA HALL, ACCOMPANIED BY JOSEPH FORER, HER ATTORNEY

Senator WELKER. Will you state your name and your residence, please?

Mrs. HALL. My name is Euphemia Hall. My residence is 628 West 151st Street.

Senator WELKER. I think you told me in executive, private session, that you were a housewife and the mother of three fine children.

Mrs. HALL. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. Proceed, counsel.

Counsel, will you identify yourself for the public record?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, 711 14th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Hall, where were you born?

Mrs. HALL. I was born in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were born Euphemia Virden; is that right?

Mrs. HALL. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And you graduated from Sarah Lawrence College in 1946, December 1946?

Mrs. HALL. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And that was an accelerated class?

Mrs. HALL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. After you graduated from Sarah Lawrence, did you work for the General Instrument Co. in Elizabeth, N. J.?

Mrs. HALL. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the nature of your employment there, Mrs. Hall?

Mrs. HALL. I was employed as a calibrator of radio condensers.

Mr. MORRIS. And then subsequently you worked for the Health Insurance Plan?

Mrs. HALL. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. In New York City?

Mrs. HALL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And then later for the Consumers Union?

Mrs. HALL. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you work for Consumers Union?

Mrs. HALL. I believe it was just for 2 months in the fall of 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. What year, Mrs. Hall?

Mrs. HALL. 1947.

Mrs. MORRIS. Now, when did you marry Robert Hall?

Mrs. HALL. I married Robert Hall in December of 1950.

Mr. MORRIS. December of 1950?

Mrs. HALL. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you told us in executive session, did you not, Mrs. Hall, that you worked for Tass News Agency from February 1, 1948, until November 1, 1951?

Mrs. HALL. That is correct, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. So during the period from February 1, 1948, until December 1950, you were known as Euphemia Virden and subsequently you were known as Euphemia Hall; is that right?

Mrs. HALL. Yes, that is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what employment have you had subsequent to your separation from Tass New Agency?

Mrs. HALL. Most of the time I haven't been employed, because I am the mother of three children, but I have——

Mr. MORRIS. But you have done some odd jobs?

Mrs. HALL. I have had some part-time jobs, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Now, while you were at Sarah Lawrence, were you recruited into the Communist Party by Genevieve Taggard, who was a member of the faculty of Sarah Lawrence?

Mrs. HALL. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now——

Senator WELKER. Counsel, I think we had better go a little further, upon the grounds that——

Mr. HALL. That I will not be——

Senator WELKER. That the answer might tend to force the witness to bear witness against herself. And then we do not need to bother with it any longer.

Mr. FORER. All right.

Senator WELKER. Is that your objection?

Mrs. HALL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, out of the context of the last question, Mrs. Hall, Genevieve Taggard was a member of the faculty at Sarah Lawrence at that time, was she not?

Mrs. HALL. Yes, she was.

Mr. MORRIS. And was she the wife of Kenneth Durant?

Mrs. HALL. Yes, she was.

Mr. MORRIS. And Kenneth Durant was the head of Tass News Agency for a long period of time, was he not?

Mrs. HALL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. In fact, did you not tell us in executive session that it was through Kenneth Durant that you obtained your employment with Tass News Agency?

Mrs. HALL. Well, not directly.

Mr. MORRIS. Suppose you do tell us exactly how it happened, Mrs. Hall.

Mrs. HALL. When I knew Kenneth Durant as the husband of Genevieve Taggard, he was no longer the director, the American director, of Tass. He was retired. So I didn't get the employment directly through him.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you get the employment?

Mrs. HALL. Through him, I met other people in Tass.

Mr. MORRIS. And who were they?

Mrs. HALL. Well, I met Mr. Freeman.

Mr. MORRIS. That is Harry Freeman?

Mrs. HALL. That is Harry Freeman.

Mr. MORRIS. And does that account for it, Mrs. Hall?

Mrs. HALL. Well, I think probably that is the only person I knew before.

Mr. MORRIS. And it was through Harry Freeman that you obtained employment?

Mrs. HALL. Well, I knew him, and I thought there might be a job there. So I asked him.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you a Communist now?

Mrs. HALL. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party from February 1, 1948, to November 1, 1951, those being the terminal dates of your employment with Tass News Agency?

Mrs. HALL. No; I was not.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist the day before you went to work with Tass?

Mrs. HALL. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the Constitution.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist the day after you worked for Tass?

Mrs. HALL. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did the Tass News Agency have a regulation which called on its members to technically withdraw from the Communist Party while they held employment with Tass?

Mrs. HALL. The Tass Bureau had a general regulation that no employee could engage in any kind of political activity. That is the only regulation that I know of.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

And therefore you effected a resignation from the Communist Party for that period of time?

(The witness consults with her attorney.)

Mrs. HALL. I refuse to answer that question.

Senator WELKER. Did they have a regulation that you could not be a Democrat or a Republican or a Progressive?

Mrs. HALL. The regulation, as I remember—I can't remember the wording of it—but no employee of Tass could engage in any political activity of any kind while they were there.

Senator WELKER. Now, you stated a moment ago, in response to counsel's question, that you knew there would be an opening in Tass News Agency. How did you know that there would be an opening in Tass News Agency?

Mrs. HALL. No, Senator, I didn't say I knew there would be one. I thought there might be an opening, and I might be able to get it.

Senator WELKER. What caused you to think there would be an opening in Tass News Agency?

Mrs. HALL. Well, I happened to be unemployed, and I wanted to get a job, and I thought that I might be able to—

Senator WELKER. That does not answer the question. How did you assume that there might be an opening in Tass News Agency?

Mrs. HALL. I really don't know how to answer the question. I thought there might be an opening a number of places, and that was one of the places that I considered getting a job.

Senator WELKER. Was it the first attempt to get employment?

Mrs. HALL. I really don't remember that.

Senator WELKER. Can you tell us where else you sought employment?

Mrs. HALL. No. At the time, I can't remember.

Senator WELKER. You cannot remember that. But you can remember seeking employment with Tass?

Mrs. HALL. Yes; I can.

Senator WELKER. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Hall, where does your husband work? In Washington or New York?

Mrs. HALL. My husband works in New York.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you could tell us—and you may consult counsel—whether or not he is Robert Hall, who is employed by the Daily Worker.

Mrs. HALL. Yes. Well, he is the editor of the Sunday Worker.

Mr. MORRIS. Editor of the Sunday Worker?

Mrs. HALL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions of this witness, Senator.

Senator WELKER. I have no more.

Thank you very much, Mrs. Hall.

Thank you, counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Counsel, you have another woman witness, do you not?

Mr. FORER. Two more.

Mr. MORRIS. Two more women?

Mr. FORER. No; two more witnesses.

Mr. MORRIS. Ladies first, counsel.

Will you stand and be sworn, Mrs. Shields, please?

Senator WELKER. Will you rise and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ESTHER LOWELL SHIELDS, ACCOMPANIED BY JOSEPH FORER, HER ATTORNEY

Senator WELKER. Will you state your name, please?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Esther Lowell Shields.

Senator WELKER. And your residence?

Mrs. SHIELDS. 127 West 96th Street, New York.

Senator WELKER. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Shields, you are the assistant to Harry Freeman of Tass News Agency, are you not?

Mrs. SHIELDS. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is the nature of your employment with Tass News Agency?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I do editorial work, writing.

Senator WELKER. Madam, would you bring the microphone a little closer to you so that we might hear?

Mr. MORRIS. It is difficult to hear, Mrs. Shields.

Mrs. SHIELDS. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Will you bring the microphone just a little closer to you?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Is that better? Can you hear now?

Senator WELKER. I would appreciate it a little bit closer, but we will try.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Shields, will you give us a description of your work with the Tass News Agency?

Mrs. SHIELDS. It mainly consists of reading through newspapers and various magazines that we receive and selecting material which seems to me would be of interest to our clients.

Mr. MORRIS. You are not a reporter, though, are you?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Occasionally I go out on reporting.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Do you have New York City police credentials?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. You do.

Did you ever work in Washington for the Tass News Agency?

Mrs. SHIELDS. No, I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. You have always worked in New York; is that right?

Mrs. SHIELDS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would give us a description of some of your reportorial work with the Tass News Agency.

Mrs. SHIELDS. I have covered certain sessions of the United Nations.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about those?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Well, the most recent one was last fall. I covered one session of the Security Council, I believe.

Senator WELKER. The what?

Mrs. SHIELDS. The Security Council of the United Nations.

Senator WELKER. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you have an office—Tass has an office at the United Nations, does it not?

Mrs. SHIELDS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And I think Mr. Freeman told us that very often that office is staffed by the employees of the regular office in New York City.

Mrs. SHIELDS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is your regular office in New York City, your main office?

Mrs. SHIELDS. In Rockefeller Center.

Mr. MORRIS. And where is your office at the United Nations?

Mrs. SHIELDS. It is on the third floor, I believe, in the Secretariat Building. It is with the other regular news agency offices.

Mr. MORRIS. And when something interesting goes on, some one of you from the main office goes over and handles, as it were, the branch office at the United Nations?

Mrs. SHIELDS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, is there anything more about your reporting that you should tell us about now, Mrs. Shields?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. What other reporting have you done for Tass News Agency?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Well, I have covered the A. F. of L. conventions on occasions.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were those A. F. of L. conventions?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Atlantic City.

Mr. MORRIS. When was the last time you covered an A. F. of L. convention?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I don't remember now.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how long have you worked for Tass?

Mrs. SHIELDS. About 20 years.

Mr. MORRIS. Twenty years.

Now, during those 20 years, have you been a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mrs. SHIELDS. No, I have not.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you aware of a regulation of Tass News Agency that asks its employees to technically withdraw from formal Communist Party activity?

(The witness consults with her attorney.)

Mrs. SHIELDS. No, we do not have such a regulation that we should technically withdraw.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the regulation, Mrs. Shields?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I don't know. The regulation is that we should not engage in any political activity.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Shields, I wonder if you would tell me, who is your husband now?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer that on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment not to be a witness against myself.

Senator WELKER. As in the private executive session, I am going to order and direct you to answer that question.

Mrs. SHIELDS. I abide by my refusal.

Senator WELKER. You abide by the fifth amendment again?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You married Thomas Arthur Shields on May 29, 1923, did you not?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Art Shields is a writer for the Daily Worker, is he not?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have an automobile, Mrs. Shields?

(The witness consults with her attorney.)

Senator WELKER. Just a moment. Are you asking your counsel for legal advice or are you asking how to answer these questions?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I am asking him for legal advice, if you please.

Senator WELKER. Very well. That is what I want you to do, and I appreciate your doing it.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the answer?

Mrs. SHIELDS. What is it?

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have a car?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I do have a car, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you ever driven in your car to the Higley Hill Children's Camp?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer for the reason given before.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever been to the Higley Hill Children's Camp?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Max Granich, who, according to the information that we have before us, runs the Higley Hill Children's Camp?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Julius Reiss, who does research and speech-writing for the Polish delegation?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Not that I know of.

Mr. MORRIS. (Spelling) J-u-l-i-u-s R-e-i-s-s.

Mrs. SHIELDS. The name means nothing to me.

Mr. MORRIS. He works for the Polish delegation to the United Nations.

Do you know a gentleman named Karl Lesser?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I never heard the name.

Mr. MORRIS. You never heard it?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Not as far as I know.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you a member of the Communist Party before you worked for the Tass News Agency?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer that on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Specifically, were you a member of the Communist Party the day before you worked for the Tass News Agency?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. But you were not a member of the Communist Party the day after you began your employment with the Tass News Agency?

Mrs. SHIELDS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. That is correct?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Would you care to tell the committee where you ever drove your automobile?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I don't understand. What is it you wish to know?

Senator WELKER. I wish to know if you ever drove it.

Mrs. SHIELDS. Yes.

Senator WELKER. You gave a couple of answers here that you refused to answer whether you drove it to certain places. Now, I would like to know if you ever drove it any place.

Mrs. SHIELDS. Yes. I have driven it 53,000 miles.

Senator WELKER. Where?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I have driven it 53,000 miles or so around the country.

Senator WELKER. Why don't you tell us where you did drive your automobile, in response to counsel's question?

Mrs. SHIELDS. In response to the specific question which he asked me before, I relied on my privilege under the fifth amendment not to answer.

Senator WELKER. You mean to tell the committee that if you truthfully answered the question propounded to you by counsel as to whether you drove your car to these different places that he inquired about—

Mr. MORRIS. That was the Higley Hill Children's Camp.

Senator WELKER. The Higley Hill Children's Camp. [Continuing:] That a truthful answer to that might tend to incriminate you or force you to bear witness against yourself?

Mrs. SHIELDS. It might tend to.

Senator WELKER. It might tend to?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Yes.

Senator WELKER. That is the basis for your fifth amendment objection?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Shields, do you know Nikolai Nikitin?

Mrs. SHIELDS. There was a man by that name employed at Tass at one time.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you and he attend the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives in Chicago on May 29, 1950, at the St. James Methodist Church, 6411 South Ellis Avenue in Chicago?

I will read that again. That is the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives in Chicago, May 29, 1950. Did you and he together go to this meeting?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I don't remember whether he was with me. I remember that I did cover it for Tass at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

You went there in your capacity as a Tass News reporter?

Mrs. SHIELDS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And you reported on this conference to whom? Do you recall?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Presumably I sent the story to the New York office.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you know a James M. Shields, 9142 South Baltimore Avenue, in Chicago?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer that on the basis of my constitutional privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you report on what was transacted at that particular meeting to James M. Shields?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Report to him?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, as to what happened at the meeting.

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know where James M. Shields is now?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he at that time, or had he been earlier, the regional director of the NLRB?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a woman named Jessica Smith?

(The witness consults with her attorney.)

Mrs. SHIELDS. I have met her; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

When did you last see Jessica Smith?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I have no recollection.

Mr. MORRIS. Is she not a friend of yours?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Not a close friend of mine, no. She is an acquaintance. I have met her through the work that I do.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

She is the editor of the New World Review, is she not?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Yes, I think so. I couldn't say for certain. I believe she is.

Senator WELKER. Will you identify the New World Review?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel.

Mr. MANDEL. The New World Review is the successor publication to Soviet Russia Today, which has been cited as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. You went abroad in 1937, did you not?

Mrs. SHIELDS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long did you stay abroad and what countries did you visit?

Mrs. SHIELDS. We were gone about 3 months. I visited in France, in London and France, and in the Soviet Union. We stopped at Prague and Vienna, I believe, also.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you then working for Tass News Agency?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Yes, I was.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I have already said I was not a member during the 20 years I have been there.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

So it is your testimony that you were not a member of the Communist Party when you made that particular trip to Europe?

Mrs. SHIELDS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Had you been to Europe earlier?

Mrs. SHIELDS. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Had you been abroad at any time?

Mrs. SHIELDS. No.

Senator WELKER. While you were in Europe, did you meet with any Communists in France or in Russia or any other place that you might recall?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Not that I know of.

Senator WELKER. Do you know whom you did meet with?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I don't remember the names of the people now, no.

Senator WELKER. Was the Communist Party doctrine discussed in the meetings, any that you had, with any people there?

Mrs. SHIELDS. No. I didn't go to any such meetings.

Senator WELKER. What?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I did not go to any such meetings.

Senator WELKER. You know, I am confused a little bit as to why you take the fifth amendment as to whether or not you were a Communist immediately prior to joining Tass News Agency.

Mrs. SHIELDS. Would you repeat the question, please?

Senator WELKER. Pardon me?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I don't understand what you are asking me.

Senator WELKER. I said, I was a bit confused when you take the fifth amendment as to whether or not you were a Communist immediately prior to your joining the Tass News Agency. Can you enlighten the committee on that, please?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Shields, where were you born?

Mrs. SHIELDS. San Francisco.

Mr. MORRIS. In San Francisco?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You were born Esther Lowell, were you not?

Mrs. SHIELDS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you contributed to the International Press Correspondence, which was the organ of the Communist International, published in Moscow?

(The witness consults with her attorney.)

Mrs. SHIELDS. I never contributed to it, no.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not?

Mrs. SHIELDS. No.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, does your name appear as a contributor of the International Press Correspondence in the year 1934?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I have no idea.¹

Mr. MORRIS. Have you contributed to the Labor Defender?

Mr. SHIELDS. I decline to answer on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Was a reservation made for you at a dinner given in honor of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Hotel Commodore on April 11, 1945?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I couldn't say. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Pardon?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I don't remember. I do not know.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not recall?

Senator WELKER. What was that question?

Mr. MORRIS. Will the reporter read it?

(The question was read by the reporter.)

Senator WELKER. And the answer was, she did not remember?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you go to that dinner?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I have no idea. I don't remember.

Senator WELKER. Did you ever go to any dinner given by the Daughters of the American Revolution—

Mrs. SHIELDS. No.

Senator WELKER. Or the American Legion or the Veterans of Foreign Wars?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I may have. I don't recall right now.

Senator WELKER. You would recall, would you not, if you had attended any such dinners?

Mrs. SHIELDS. My memory isn't as good as I would like it to be.

Senator WELKER. Pardon me?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I say, my memory is not so good as I would like it to be.

Senator WELKER. Well, it is not so good as I would like it to be, either.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Shields, did you ever attend a dinner for the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I don't remember.

Senator WELKER. Do you know what the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I have read about it.

Senator WELKER. You have read about it?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Yes.

Senator WELKER. And you knew about it, did you not?

Mrs. SHIELDS. Well, I know what I read, yes.

Senator WELKER. Do you know any persons who ever went over in the American group, in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, to fight in Spain?

¹ At a hearing of the subcommittee on May 9, 1956, at which Senator Arthur V. Watkins presided, the following record was made:

"Mr. MORRIS. When Esther Lowell Shields, of the Tass News Agency, appeared before the committee, we asked her if she had in fact written for *Imprecator*, which is a publication of the Comintern. Miss Lowell—Mrs. Shields—denied that she had ever written for *Imprecator*. We have here a notation made by Mr. Mandel, the research director, which indicates that an article under the name of Esther Lowell, the name she used, did in fact appear.

"Mr. MANDEL. The article under the name of Esther Lowell was a book review of Agnes Smedley's book *Chinese Destinies* and was published in *International Press Correspondence*, official organ of Communist International, volume 14, No. 19, dated March 31, 1934, page 508, under the title "A Vivid Picture of Changing China."

"Mr. MORRIS. That would not necessarily contradict Mrs. Shield's testimony because she would not necessarily consider a book review an article. At the same time, the name may have been used by the *Imprecator* people without her knowledge."

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer on the basis of my constitutional privilege.

Senator WELKER. Do you know Steve Nelson?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Senator WELKER. You apparently know a great deal more about it than you have told me.

Very well. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a contributing editor of the Labor Defender?

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer that question for the same reason given.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mrs. Shields, while you have been an assistant editor of the Tass News Agency and all during your employment with Tass News Agency, have you contributed money to the Communist Party?

Mrs. SHIELDS. No.

Mr. MORRIS. You have not?

Mrs. SHIELDS. No.

Mr. MORRIS. You have made no contributions whatever to Communist causes?

Mrs. SHIELDS. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Communist causes?

(The witness consults with her attorney.)

Mr. FORER. You had better define "Communist causes."

Senator WELKER. How is that, Counsel?

Mr. FORER. I say, I asked him to define what he meant by "Communist causes," Senator.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I think it would be very difficult for me to reframe the question, because counsel and I probably would disagree as to what is a Communist cause, and—

Mr. FORER. I do not doubt it.

Mr. MORRIS. And we might be engaged in semantics, Counsel.

Mr. FORER. Yes.

Senator WELKER. I would not have any trouble disagreeing with him, I am quite sure.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Shields, did you contribute to the Rosenberg fund, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg?

(The witness consults with her attorney.)

Mrs. SHIELDS. I decline to answer on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. That, Counsel, would be an example of what I would consider a Communist cause.

Mr. FORER. I gathered that that is why you asked the question.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Thank you very much, Mrs. Shields. You are excused.

Mr. MORRIS. You have one more witness?

Mr. FORER. Yes; Mr. Mardo.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Mardo, will you rise and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you give before the committee will be truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Mardo. I do.

TESTIMONY OF BILL MARDO ACCOMPANIED BY JOSEPH FORER, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter, Mr. Mardo?

Mr. MARDO. My name is Bill Mardo. I live at 543 Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. And what is your present occupation, Mr. Mardo?

Mr. MARDO. I decline to answer under the basis of my privileges under the fifth amendment not to bear witness against myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mardo, where were you born?

Mr. MARDO. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born?

Mr. MARDO. I was born in Manhattan.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. MARDO. 1923.

Mr. MORRIS. Your name was not Bill Mardo at birth, was it?

Mr. MARDO. No, it was not.

Mr. MORRIS. What was it? Tell us for the record.

Mr. MARDO. William Bloom.

Mr. MORRIS. That is B-l-o-o-m?

Mr. MARDO. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. You worked for Tass News Agency, did you not?

Mr. MARDO. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And you began your employment in July 1951?

Mr. MARDO. No. I began my employment with the Washington Bureau of Tass in July of 1951.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long did you continue working for Tass on that particular tour of employment?

Mr. MARDO. From July of 1951 to approximately April of 1952.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, where did you work for Tass?

Mr. MARDO. I worked in the Washington Bureau of the Tass News Agency.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you describe your duties to the committee?

Mr. MARDO. I worked primarily in a technical capacity on teletype and also engaged in occasional reportorial assignments and inside writing.

Mr. MORRIS. I did not quite understand that, Mr. Mardo.

Mr. MARDO. I worked primarily in a technical capacity on teletype and also engaged in occasional outside reportorial assignments and inside writing assignments.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now will you tell us some of these outside reportorial assignments?

Mr. MARDO. Well, I will tell you those which I can recall. I can recall covering a meeting of the International Wheat Agreement, various press conferences called by the Secretary of Labor, such commonplace reportorial assignments as that. That is about all I can recall.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, you left Tass News Agency, did you not, and took up other employment?

Mr. MARDO. I left the Tass News Agency in April of 1952 and took a job at the Soviet Information Bulletin.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, what is the Soviet Information Bulletin?

Mr. MARDO. That was a publication of the Embassy of the Soviet Union here in Washington.

Senator WELKER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. MARDO. I decline to answer that question on the basis of my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you a Communist while you worked for Tass News Agency?

Mr. MARDO. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. After you left the Soviet Information Bulletin, you went back to Tass News Agency, did you not?

Mr. MARDO. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long did you work for Tass News Agency on that particular tour of employment?

Mr. MARDO. Approximately 1 year.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was the nature of your work then?

Mr. MARDO. Similar to what it was on my prior job there.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, technical work, occasional outside reporting, and occasional writing?

Mr. MARDO. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us some of the reportorial work that you did for Tass News Agency at that time?

Mr. MARDO. I can't recall any specific assignments, but there were—

Mr. MORRIS. You cannot recall them?

Mr. MARDO. I can't recall any specific reportorial assignments. There were reportorial assignments.

Senator WELKER. I think it is common knowledge that they cover the waterfront. They are probably here reporting now, reporting every place. As a matter of fact, yesterday in the Judiciary, one was there.

Mr. MORRIS. It seems, Mr. Chairman, if I may indulge in an observation, unusual that the witness cannot recall any reportorial assignment that he had with Tass News Agency.

Mr. MARDO. That is not the way you asked it, sir. I named those reportorial assignments which I can recall. That was several years ago. I cannot possibly recall every assignment that I was on.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall one of them on this second tour of duty or second tour of service?

Mr. MARDO. Well, I am not sure whether I covered the International Wheat Agreement on my first job with Tass or on my second job with Tass. It is one of the reportorial assignments which comes to mind.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever have a reportorial assignment on Capitol Hill?

Mr. MARDO. I can't recall, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You cannot recall whether you had a reportorial assignment on Capitol Hill?

Mr. MARDO. That is right. I can recall some other assignments, now that I am forcing myself to recall some.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. Please do. It may be hard, Mr. Mardo, but I wish you would, because we are analyzing the nature of the work of reporters and employees of Tass News Agency.

Mr. MARDO. I recall helping cover a press conference, a weekly briefing, by the Secretary of State. I recall assisting in the coverage of some of the Truman press conferences.

Senator WELKER. Did you attend the Alger Hiss hearings?

Mr. MARDO. No, I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, at these press conferences with the Secretary of State and the President of the United States, were you present for any off-the-record remarks at any time?

Mr. MARDO. Not that I recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Not that you can recall. Can you not recall being present at an interview at some time when the party giving the interview said, "Now, this is off the record."

Mr. MARDO. I cannot recall, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You cannot recall such an experience?

Mr. MARDO. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what is your employment now, Mr. Mardo?

Mr. MARDO. I decline to answer on the basis of my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your——

Senator WELKER. Just a moment.

You have opened up the subject matter. You have told us your employment prior to this time. I am going to order and direct you to answer the question as to your present employment.

Mr. MARDO. I abide by my refusal, sir.

Senator WELKER. You what?

Mr. MARDO. I abide by my refusal.

Senator WELKER. You abide by your objection heretofore given; is that right?

Mr. MARDO. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. Very well, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what employment did you have before you worked for Tass News Agency?

Mr. MARDO. I refuse to answer that for the same reasons, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you tell us any employment that you have ever had in your life, Mr. Mardo?

Mr. MARDO. I already have.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us something about it, Mr. Mardo? What employment have you engaged in that you can tell us about?

Mr. MARDO. I have already discussed my employment with the Tass News Agency and the U. S. S. R. Information Bulletin. I have already declined to discuss any other previous or past employment on the basis of my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER. I want to make this definitely clear. While you were employed by the Tass News Agency, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARDO. I refuse to answer that for reasons already stated.

Senator WELKER. Are you a member of the Communist Party now?

Mr. MARDO. I refuse to answer that for the same reasons.

Senator WELKER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARDO. I refuse to answer that for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, this witness refuses to tell us about any employment that he has had except employment with Tass News Agency, and with the Soviet Information Bureau. In view of that, Senator, I would like to ask this.

Have you contributed an article which was published in the Daily Worker on November 26, 1954, entitled, "A Blood Bath in Guatemala," page 6 of the Daily Worker for November 26, 1954?

Mr. MARD0. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been an officer of the provisional committee for the 69th anniversary of May Day, which was a fact recorded in the Daily Worker of May 13, 1954, page 5?

Mr. MARD0. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you written an article about voting in the 24th Congressional District in Bronx, N. Y., an article published in the Daily Worker of October 29, 1954, at page 6?

Mr. MARD0. I refuse to answer that question for the same reasons, sir.

Senator WELKER. Counsel, were they under his byline?

Mr. MORRIS. According to the information I have, Senator.

May we ask our research director to put those articles that I have just referred to in the record at this point, Senator?

Senator WELKER. Very well. That will be so ordered.

Mr. MORRIS. That will be done at the next session, Mr. Mandel.

(The articles referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 229, 230, and 231" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 229

[Daily Worker, New York, November 26, 1954, p. 6]

PROTESTS MOUNT AGAINST BLOODBATH IN GUATEMALA

(By Bill Mardo)

Only precious days remain to save 20 Guatemalan patriots from the firing squad of dictator President Carlos Castillo Armas.

On November 10 the civilized world with shock and horror read Castillo's announcement to United Press that the first 20 of 100 imprisoned Guatemalan "Communists" will be brutally murdered before the end of this month. Naked indication of Castillo's courtroom justice was UP's paraphrasing of the dictator's prediction that the other 80 undoubtedly "will be convicted and shot"—this observation freely volunteered by the butcher even before his military "trials" are concluded.

The November 20 New York Times reported from Guatemala City that to date 72,000 persons have been listed as "Communists," and it "was expected eventually to list 200,000 as the investigation proceeded."

It is ominously apparent that if democratic world opinion fails to halt the execution of the first 20 Guatemalan patriots before November lets out, Castillo's gang of murderers may yet wind up by massacring 200,000 Guatemalan citizens.

But an aroused public opinion already is demanding that the executioner's bullets never be fired. On November 16 the World Federation of Trade Unions, in the name of 80 million organized workers throughout the world, demanded "cancellation of these odious sentences and the ending of the persecution of the best workers, peasants and intellectuals of Guatemala."

Both here and abroad, people from every station of life are quickly moving to save the first 20 before it is too late. In New York, thousands of postcards are being signed and sped to Guatemalan Ambassador Jose Luis Cruz Salazar in Washington, urging that in the spirit of "simple humanitarian principles" his government grant clemency. The New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions this week issued a petition in which artists, musicians, and others are urging clemency for the 20 Guatemalans "whose only crime was to fight for their country and for their legally elected government."

In announcing the scheduled bloodbaths, Castillo declared that 100 Guatemalans will be executed for "tortures and murders" supposedly committed by the overthrown democratic government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman.

But in Castillo's lies, thinking Americans hear the echo of Hitler's Katyn Forest massacre of thousands of Poles which the Nazis and later their friends in the

United States Congress fraudulently tried to attribute to the Soviet Union. As a letter to the editor published in the November 13 San Francisco Chronicle pointed out:

"Why was it that, although correspondents had free access to Guatemala before the Castillo coup d'etat, these 'murders and atrocities' were not discovered until after the overthrow of Arbenz? In an atmosphere in which every opponent of the Castillo dictatorship is called a 'Communist,' have these men had a fair trial? Could they possibly obtain justice under a government which has usurped all power, judicial as well as legislative?"

Former President Arbenz on November 7, in his first public press conference since becoming a political refugee in Mexico City, himself nailed the "infamous calumnies" about murders and atrocities allegedly committed by his regime.

Arbenz stated that after the United Fruit Co. and State Department-inspired overthrow of his popular front government, the hatchetman Castillo conveniently discovered in shallow graves hundreds of so-called executed opponents of the Arbenz government. In giving the lie to this palpably phony frameup, Arbenz clearly revealed that the bodies found were "victims of internecine fighting in Colonel Castillo's army, and that photographs had been faked." (New York Times, November 8.)

Millions of words have been written and spoken by honest people both in the United States and throughout Latin America about the fresh new winds which swept through Guatemala during the pioneer democracy days of Arbenz' regime—the loosening of United Fruit's stranglehold around the necks of the Guatemalan peasants, the birth of constitutional liberties and trade union freedom, the inspiring steps to remove the blight of illiteracy and poverty from a land and people whose ancient Indian culture provided so much to human history.

But for the nonce, it might be well simply to recall the observation published in the far from pro-Arbenz columns of the New York Herald Tribune. After an extended tour of Latin America, Tribune correspondent A. T. Steele wrote on May 27, a few weeks before the invasion of democratic Guatemala: "In fairness to Guatemala, it must be made clear that despite the growth of Communist influence, the people of that country enjoy more freedom than most of their Latin American neighbors."

And it was precisely such freedom and democratic reforms which the United States State Department feared other colonial peoples in Latin America might wish to emulate, and which moved our Government and United Fruit to inspire the invasion and crushing of Guatemala's newborn liberty.

So contrast even this admittedly conservative estimate of the former Arbenz Government, with life in Guatemala today where terror stalks the country; where nearly 8,000 trade unionists, peasants, and democrats are in concentration camps; where the free labor and peasant organizations have been outlawed along with all other people's organizations; where civil liberties have been burned out and Guatemala's democratic constitution wiped off the books. Read and judge for yourself on which foot the shoe of "murders and atrocities" fits!

From Castillo's Guatemala, the November 6, New York Times reported: "This country's organized labor and peasant movement is still out of action 4 months after the overthrow of the Jacobo Arbenz Guzman regime. The movement had grown almost unfettered for the last 10 years."

Even the United States Embassy in Guatemala was obliged to report in the November 22 Foreign Commerce Weekly that, out of a total of 530 unions whose leadership Castillo dissolved under the guise of ousting Communists, only 9 had thus far reorganized.

In the August 16 CIO News, Daniel Benedict, associate director of the CIO international affairs department wrote after visiting Castillo with a group of AFL and Cuban trade unionists:

" * * * non-Communist workers known for, or suspected of, strong trade union feelings have been, and are being fired by the score. * * * The long lines of obviously poor Indian peasant women seen by this writer waiting outside the jails with little baskets of food to send in to their arrested menfolk were certainly no indication that the thousands in jail are foreign Communist agitators or local party big shots. * * * In shops with 5 or 6 Communists, bosses have decided to fire dozens of workers whose 'crime' was merely union activity or protesting against wage cuts. Many of these workers have been thrown in jail."

O. A. Knight, chairman of the CIO Latin American Affairs Committee, protesting to the State Department over the dismissal and jailings of trade unionists and the suspension of constitutional labor rights, wrote: "CIO is concerned because continuance of this trend will weaken all democratic forces in the Amer-

icas. * * * We urge our Government to impress upon all its officials and upon United States owned business firms the danger of this course."

This, then, is life today in Guatemala under the fascist puppet Castillo who has the gangster's gall to accuse the former democratic government of having committed "atrocities!"

Under Hitler's hoary old cry of saving a nation from "communism," the State Department and United Fruit have placed in power a Fascist triggerman who is putting the death smell of Auschwitz and Lidice on a gallant country which just a few short months ago was becoming a bright new morning star shining down on Latin America.

Quickly on the order of business for all liberty-loving Americans is a swell of protest against the earmarked execution of democrats and the already accomplished execution of democracy in Guatemala!

EXHIBIT No. 230

[Daily Worker, New York, May 13, 1954, p. 5]

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MAY DAY DISSOLVES

The Provisional Committee for the 69th Anniversary of May Day, sponsors of labor's May Day 1954 demonstration at Union Square, at a meeting of committee officers and rank and file AFL, CIO, and independent trade unionists, officially dissolved the Provisional Committee.

The meeting commended committee officers Bill Mardo, Rudolph Christian, and Miriam Baumel for their work.

In a final statement, the Provisional Committee declared:

"Special mention must be made of the rank and file furriers, garment workers, clothing workers, Negro, nationality and youth groups for their great efforts in guaranteeing the turnout of 15,000 New Yorkers in what proved to be a history-making demonstration in our country for peace in Indochina, world peace, outlawing of the H-bomb, a program to deal with the mass unemployment, and the defeat of McCarthyism and all police-state laws.

"The mighty turnout at Union Square was a tribute to the fighting spirit of labor, its deep-rooted yearnings for peace, jobs and civil liberties."

Among the unionists who addressed the May Day rally were:

Rudolph Christian, a member of the United Radio and Electrical Workers Union; Leon Straus, of the Fur Workers Union; Victoria Garvin, of the Negro Labor Council; Fanny Golos, a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; William Kaufman, a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Miriam Baumel, a member of the Millinery Workers local, and A. Pazner, a member of the Shoe Workers Union.

EXHIBIT No. 231

[Daily Worker, New York, October 29, 1954, p. 6]

AN UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR BRONX VOTERS

(By Bill Mardo)

New York newspapers have buried the big news in the 24th Congressional District in the Bronx. Let any objective reader judge for himself what is newsworthy in that tiny corner of the north Bronx. The Democratic incumbent Buckley doesn't even bother to conduct a token campaign for reelection to his eleventh term in Congress. The McCarthyite Republican, Charles Scandon, is his unseen and unheard opponent.

And then there is this. Also campaigning is a Communist, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a proud and prominent Communist, a Smith Act defendant who on the very eve of 3 years imprisonment is running an independent race for Congress despite the kangaroo vote in Washington declaring the Communist Party of the United States outlaw and robbed of its political birthright. And would it be improper to observe that when 4,000 Bronxites defied the demons and stubbornly signed their names to petitions supporting the right of a well-known Communist to run for public office and their right to listen to her, that time indeed had begun running out on the McCarthyite madness?

Where, then, does the real news lie in the Twenty-fourth Congressional District of the Bronx?

And this is the very essence of the Elizabeth Gurley Flynn story. That almost every night in the week New Yorkers can finger the dial on their radio and hear the real voice of America. It was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn who raised the cry: "Coexistence or no existence." And she has been saying it so loud and so often during her campaign that lo and behold one day last week Adlai Stevenson said the very same thing in a Montana speech.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was the first New York candidate to warn against the administration's plan to rearm Western Germany. This Eisenhower-Dulles policy of putting guns and tanks and jets into the hands of Nazi generals, warned Elizabeth on the air, will lead straight to catastrophe unless checked by the American people. For it means "sooner or later putting atom and hydrogen bombs into the hands of the same murdering hoodlums who devastated Europe."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was the first candidate to demand that Charlie Wilson be booted out of the Cabinet for his incredible insult to America's 5-million unemployed.

And Gurley Flynn, whose pulse has beat as one with American workers in legendary labor struggles over the past 50 years, again touched a nerve when she proposed a real antidepression program. Let us build new schools, homes, and highways, she said. Let us raise the minimum wage to \$1.25 per hour. Let us increase unemployment and social security benefits. Let us open the door to free trade between the East and West, and bring millions of new jobs to our electrical, metal, and maritime workers.

To the American people daily growing more disgusted with McCarthyism, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn said: Let us repeal all the Hitler-like legislation now disgracing our statute books: the thought-control Smith Act; the new Butler-Brownell "Communist Control Act" with its deadly portent for American labor; the McCarran law and the McCarran-Walter Act which harasses and persecutes our foreign-born who have spent a lifetime helping create America's wealth. Let us win back our beloved Bill of Rights, says Elizabeth. Let us win amnesty for America's political prisoners, urges Gurley Flynn, she who inspired millions with her fights to save Sacco and Vanzetti, to free Mooney and Debs.

Veteran battler for Negro rights, Gurley Flynn hammers home time and again the need for a Federal FEPC and once and forever an end to jimerow wherever its ugly head crops up, be it housing, education, or industry. Let Attorney General Brownell stop persecuting innocent and patriotic Americans and start prosecuting the white supremacist thugs who defy the highest court of the land on school desegregation.

But one thing above all others does Elizabeth Gurley Flynn bring to her constituents in the 24th Congressional District: Peace—"the issue of issues." Peaceful coexistence, she says, means to live and let live. If 800 million people have chosen socialism as their way of life, that's their business. Let us respect that choice as we would want them to respect ours.

Peaceful coexistence, she says, means an immediate Big Four conference to guarantee a peaceful and democratic Germany, not a new Nazi bloodbath. Peaceful coexistence means that 400 million Chinese people must have their proper voice in the U. N. Peaceful coexistence means the outlawing of all nuclear weapons.

This is the way to life and a better America, says Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. And proudly she links her hand with the American Labor Party candidates also campaigning for peace, jobs, and the Bill of Rights.

That such a voice and such a program can be brought before the people in this, America's comeback year of 1954, is perhaps the most meaningful news story of the day.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a contributor to the People's World in San Francisco?

Mr. MARDO. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have no information as to how this man is presently employed, sir.

Senator WELKER. Neither do I.

Mr. MORRIS. And you will not tell us, Mr. Mardo?

Mr. MARDO. I refuse to answer that—

Mr. FORER. No, no.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Senator.

Mr. FORER. He would like to correct his answer to the last question. The answer to the last question was, "yes," he will not tell you.

Mr. MARDO. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. How is that, Mr. Forer?

Mr. FORER. He mistook the last question. His answer to the last question is "yes."

Senator WELKER. I certainly do not want to be unfair to the witness.

Mr. MORRIS. I think I understand what he means, Senator. I said, "You will not tell us that, will you," and he said, "No," and Mr. Forer says that he should have said "yes."

Mr. FORER. He refused to answer when he said "yes."

Mr. MORRIS. Very well.

Senator WELKER. You are excused, Mr. Witness. Thank you for appearing.

Next witness, in a hurry.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Krafzur.

Senator WELKER. Stand up and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL KRAFSUR, ACCOMPANIED BY HARRY, I. RAND, HIS ATTORNEY

Senator WELKER. State your name and your residence, please.

Mr. KRAFSUR. My name is Samuel Krafzur.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside, Mr. Krafzur?

Mr. KRAFSUR. 6423 Dahlonga Road, Washington 16, D. C.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that road?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Dahlonga Road.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your present occupation?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I have been working in a toy shop.

Mr. MORRIS. What toy shop?

Mr. KRAFSUR. A toy shop in Rockville. I resigned Saturday. The name of the shop is the Rockville Toy Craft.

Senator WELKER. You did what Saturday?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I resigned, sir.

Senator WELKER. You resigned from selling toys last Saturday?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a reporter for Tass News Agency?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the terminal dates of that employment?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Some time in October 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. Until—

Mr. KRAFSUR. Terminal date, you said, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, both; the beginning and the end.

Mr. KRAFSUR. I started in the spring of 1941.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you work for Tass?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Where? I worked in New York and in Washington.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now will you tell us how long you worked in New York?

Mr. KRAFSUR. The summer of 1941. I was sent down here in the month of October and returned to New York and was sent down here for good on Pearl Harbor day.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the nature of your assignment in New York?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I started in the traffic department.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the traffic department?

Mr. KRAFSUR. It has to do with communications through RCA, Press Wireless, and so forth.

Mr. MORRIS. I think Mr. Freeman has told us that there is a great volume of words that go out from Tass, New York, to Tass, Moscow. Could you tell us approximately how many there are?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Oh, I don't recall, sir. There were 3 or 4 operators, and my job was not to keep track of the count. The bookkeeper did that.

Mr. MORRIS. But you were engaged in transmitting stories and information that had been gathered by the reporters, and you were transmitting them to Moscow; is that right?

Mr. KRAFSUR. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And what else did you do in New York?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Those were my duties for, oh, I imagine 3 or 4 months, and then I was put on the desk as an editor.

Mr. MORRIS. As an editor?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you have New York City police credentials?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I don't believe so, no.

Mr. MORRIS. And then you came to Washington. And what was your work in Washington?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I was an assistant to the head of the bureau here, Mr. Todd.

Mr. MORRIS. Laurence Todd?

Mr. KRAFSUR. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were a general reporter, were you not?

Mr. KRAFSUR. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And you did reporting for Tass News Agency?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you cover Capitol Hill?

Mr. KRAFSUR. At times, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you cover the State Department?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Once in a while.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you cover the White House?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes, most of all.

Mr. MORRIS. Most of all.

Now, would you tell us generally the nature of your assignment, how you carried it out, and what were some of the problems you encountered, and what were some of the things you did for Tass News Agency.

Mr. KRAFSUR. Well, I would be assigned to cover press conferences, briefings, White House briefings, generally phone in the stories to the desk here, which were transmitted to New York.

Mr. MORRIS. And let us take the White House conferences. You would get an announcement, as would all reporters, that there was going to be something newsworthy happening at the White House?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Well, it doesn't quite work that way.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us how it does.

Mr. KRAFSUR. Well, there was a briefing every morning at 10:30 by the President's press secretary.

Mr. MORRIS. What President was that?

Mr. KRAFSUR. President Roosevelt.

Mr. MORRIS. And you attended the briefings?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was anything off the record about these briefings?

Mr. KRAFSUR. No; they were open to the press.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; but were there not times when some of these briefings or some portions of the briefings were off the record?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Well, Mr. Early, who was then press secretary, might say, "This is off the record."

Mr. MORRIS. And then you, like all other reporters, would not report on it?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Precisely.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in connection with the last question I asked a while ago, we have here from the Western Union Telegraph Co., the number of words that have been filed during the year 1955, and I think it would be appropriate to put it into the record at this time.

Senator WELKER. It is so ordered.

(The matter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 232" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 232

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO.,
Washington 4, D. C., February 28, 1956.

Mr. BENJAMIN MANDEL,

*Research Director, Internal Security Subcommittee,
United States Senate, Washington 25, D. C.*

DEAR MR. MANDEL: This is in response to your letter of February 16 addressed to our New York office, requesting certain information on the number of words sent by Tass over Western Union channels to and from the Soviet Union for the year 1955.

The Tass Agency does not file overseas correspondence with us. They do have a telemeter channel operating between New York and Washington, D. C., on a 24-hour basis. The channel is terminated at the New York end in the telegraph bureau of the Tass Agency, 50 Rockefeller Plaza and at Washington, D. C., in the office of Lawrence Todd, National Press Building, with an extension on local lease to the Russian Embassy permitting copy to be received at both places.

The word count on the channel by months during 1955, determined on the basis of six characters per word, is listed below:

January.....	350, 390	July.....	360, 410
February.....	316, 924	August.....	376, 032
March.....	507, 952	September.....	391, 934
April.....	319, 358	October.....	388, 588
May.....	433, 075	November.....	348, 663
June.....	441, 164	December.....	378, 027

Billing, including the local lease, is at the maximum rate of \$440 per month. If we can be of any further assistance please do not hesitate to let us know.

Very truly yours,

K. W. HEBERTON, *Vice President.*

Mr. MORRIS. Also, Senator, we have the same kind of information from Press Wireless, Inc., 660 First Avenue. May that also go into the record?

Senator WELKER. It is so ordered.

Mr. MORRIS. I will not go into these. I think it indicated that the total was 64,000 words during 1955.

Is that right, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. Yes.

(The matter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 233" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 233

PRESS WIRELESS, INC.,
New York 16, N. Y., February 23, 1956.

Mr. BENJAMIN MANDEL,
Research Director, Internal Security Subcommittee,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Reference is made to your letter of February 16, 1956, concerning the Tass traffic handled by us on our radio circuit to and from the Soviet Union during the year 1955.

During the year 1955, no traffic was filed with us in the United States by Tass for transmission to Moscow. A total of only 403 words was received by us from Moscow for delivery to Tass. We do not know the collection charges made in Moscow for this traffic. Our charge to the Soviet Government as our share of the tolls involved for receiving and delivering the copy was \$11.08, computed at the rate of \$0.0275 per word.

In addition to the above, however, Press Wireless transmitted to Moscow from New York during 1955 a total of 64,264 words of traffic filed by Tass in Buenos Aires, Argentina, for delivery in Moscow. This traffic was filed with the Argentine Government Radio Administration (Correos y Telecomunicaciones) which transmitted it to us at New York. Upon receipt at New York it was immediately retransmitted to Moscow. We do not know the total collections made by the Argentine Government from Tass for this traffic. Our charge to the Argentine Government as our and the Soviet Union's share of the tolls involved amounted to \$5,141.83 and generally was based upon a per word charge of 8 cents.

We trust that the above satisfactorily answers your inquiry, but shall be happy to supply any additional information on this subject you may require.

Very truly yours,

THOMAS J. REILLY, *Controller.*

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what were you doing immediately before you worked for Tass News Agency?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I was unemployed.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your earlier employment before your employment with Tass News Agency?

Mr. KRAFSUR. The job I had before that was secretary to a writer.

Mr. MORRIS. And who was that writer?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Elliott Paull.

Mr. MORRIS. He is a novelist, is he not?

Mr. KRAFSUR. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. He is your brother-in-law, is he not?

Mr. KRAFSUR. That is right. He was my brother-in-law.

Mr. MORRIS. Myron Ehrenberg is also your brother-in-law?

Mr. KRAFSUR. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Elliott Paull, Myron Ehrenberg, and yourself married the three Scovill sisters, did you not?

Mr. KRAFSUR. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you first meet your wife?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I met her in Massachusetts.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, where were you born, Mr. Krafur?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I was born in Boston.

Mr. MORRIS. What has been your education?

Mr. KRAFSUR. English high school and a year at Northeastern University.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you have employment in Boston?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your employment in Boston?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Oh, I had various jobs. I worked for a stationery company. I worked for a boys' club. I worked for the President's Birthday Ball Committee, either 1 or 2 years.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the President's Birthday Ball Committee?

Mr. KRAFSUR. That was the first year they started to raise money for the polio fund. I forget the exact year. It was in, I think, 1935 or 1936, but I am not sure.

Senator WELKER. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party during any of those periods?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I decline to testify, sir, based on my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Senator WELKER (continuing). During any of those periods of employment?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I decline to testify, sir, based on my privileges under the fifth and the first amendments.

Senator WELKER. Very well. And were you a member of the Communist Party while you were employed by Tass News Agency?

Mr. KRAFSUR. No; I was not.

Senator WELKER. Were you a member of the Communist Party five minutes before you became a member of the Tass News Agency?

Mr. KRAFSUR. No; I was not.

Senator WELKER. Were you a member of the Communist Party 6 months before you became a member of Tass?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Prior to December 1940, I decline to testify, relying on my constitutional privileges under the first and the fifth amendments.

Senator WELKER. Prior to December 1940?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Now, one more question the acting chairman would like to ask: You appeared before me in executive session, I think, 2 weeks ago?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I think it was longer than that, sir.

Senator WELKER. February 24, 1956. You say you resigned from your work as a toy salesman last Saturday?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. Was that resignation voluntary or were you asked to resign?

Mr. KRAFSUR. It was voluntary, sir.

Senator WELKER. Was any discussion had about your appearance before this committee?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Well, I informed my employer that I was going to be called.

Senator WELKER. And did he have anything to say about that?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Well, he was surprised, I presume.

Senator WELKER. Surprised? Did he think that would enhance the sale of toys?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Well, I don't know. I didn't ask him, sir.

Senator WELKER. Why did you resign, if I might ask that? It may be personal. If you do not care to answer, tell me.

Mr. KRAFSUR. Well, sir, I think it is fairly obvious.

Senator WELKER. I did not hear that.

Mr. KRAFSUR. I say, sir, it is fairly obvious.

Senator WELKER. It is fairly obvious for what reason?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I didn't believe I would be useful to him any more. Senator WELKER. And you are not employed now?

Mr. KRAFSUR. No, sir.

Senator WELKER. Are you seeking employment?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I intend to, sir.

Senator WELKER. Do you intend to seek employment back with Tass?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I don't know, sir. I haven't explored any of the avenues that may be open.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Cecil Lubell?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes; I know a Cecil Lubell.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

When did you last see Mr. Lubell?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Oh, golly, about 15 or 20 years ago, I imagine.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now a Communist, Mr. Krafzur?

Mr. KRAFSUR. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been in the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I decline to testify to that, sir, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you go to Spain with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. You have worked for the WPA, have you not?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Oh, I think it was 1935-36.

Mr. MORRIS. And you worked for the Boston Tercentenary Committee, did you not?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes, sir. It was in the middle thirties. I am not sure of the exact year.

Mr. MORRIS. I think you testified in executive session that you obtained your employment with Tass News Agency after an interview with Kenneth Durant?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Not immediately after that. Yes; I was interviewed by Mr. Durant, and I was later hired.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what trips have you made abroad, Mr. Krafzur?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I decline to answer that, sir, on the grounds previously stated.

Senator WELKER. What?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I said, I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever used a name other than your own name?

Mr. KRAFSUR. I decline to answer that question, sir, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Senator.

Senator WELKER. You used your correct name when you were selling toys?

Mr. KRAFSUR. Yes.

Senator WELKER. That is all. You are excused.

Call the next witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Laurence Todd.

Mr. RAND. Do you want me to identify myself for the record?

Senator WELKER. I am sorry, counsel. I thought the reporter would know you.

Mr. RAND. Harry I. Rand, Wyatt Building, Washington 5, D. C.

Senator WELKER. Will you rise and be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TODD. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LAURENCE TODD, ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID REIN, HIS ATTORNEY

Senator WELKER. State your name and your residence, please.

Mr. TODD. Laurence Todd, 4805 Langdrum Lane, Chevy Chase, Md.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your present occupation, Mr. Todd?

Mr. TODD. I am retired.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you do individual research work at the Library of Congress?

Mr. TODD. No.

Mr. MORRIS. You have not done any recently?

Mr. TODD. I was doing some research in the winter of 1952 and 1953, and up to January 1954, I believe.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, whom did you do that research for?

Mr. TODD. For myself. I was writing memoirs.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you not do some work for some of the Soviet consulates and embassies here?

Mr. TODD. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you do some work for some of the Soviet consuls and Embassies during that time?

Mr. TODD. No, I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. The Hungarian Government? The Polish Government?

Mr. TODD. No, I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you have been associated with Tass News Agency for many years, have you not, Mr. Todd?

Mr. TODD. I was associated with the Tass News Agency in Washington part time from 1923 to 1933 and full time from 1933 to 1952.

Mr. MORRIS. And then you retired in 1952?

Mr. TODD. I retired in June of 1952.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, where were you born, Mr. Todd?

Mr. TODD. In Michigan, Nottawa, St. Joseph County in Michigan.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

What has been your educational background?

Mr. TODD. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. What has been your educational background?

Mr. TODD. I went through country schools. I earned my way through a high school in Ann Arbor, and I attended the university 2½ years.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would describe for the subcommittee, Mr. Todd, the nature of your employment with Tass News Agency.

Mr. TODD. I was in charge of a Washington report for the Tass Agency, which is located in New York. I was a correspondent here, and I gathered news and sent it. I was in charge of the local accounts

of the bureau, the expense accounts, and things like that. I never employed anyone. I neither had authority to employ nor to dismiss anyone.

Senator WELKER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time in your life?

Mr. TODD. Never.

Senator WELKER. Never?

Mr. TODD. Never.

Senator WELKER. Prior to your employment with Tass?

Mr. TODD. I answered that; never.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you in your work with Tass News Agency ever have any associations with or relations with officials of the United States Government?

Mr. TODD. A newspaperman in Washington attends press conferences, of course.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Witness and counsel, will you please pardon me now? I am going to have the distinguished Senator from South Carolina take over as chairman.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Thank you.

Senator JOHNSTON (presiding). Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Oliver Edmund Clubb?

Mr. TODD. I met him once, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Just once?

Mr. TODD. I think just once. I met him many years ago. He was a consul, and I met him.

Mr. MORRIS. Excuse me, Mr. Todd.

Mr. TODD. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. You were answering a question. I am sorry.

Mr. TODD. Yes. I met him twice that I remember. I met him twice.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was the occasion of your meetings with Mr. Clubb?

Mr. TODD. Mr. Clubb was stationed in China, and I had a brother, an engineer, in China, and it is my recollection—I am not sure—my recollection that my brother sent me a note that he had given Mr. Clubb my name, and when he came to Washington, he might say hello to me. Mr. Clubb did see me. That I remember.

Mr. MORRIS. Proceed. Was that all?

Mr. TODD. He came to see me. It was many years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. You have not seen him recently?

Mr. TODD. I saw him—I met Mr. Clubb in New Hampshire in the summer some years ago. He was living in Mr. Grew's house, I think.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you know a woman named Louise Bransten?

Mr. TODD. I think I met her.

Mr. MORRIS. You met her in San Francisco, did you not?

Mr. TODD. I may have. I may have.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you recall the circumstances of your meeting Louise Bransten in San Francisco?

Mr. TODD. I don't recall exactly, but I think Louise Bransten had written a novel, and I had met her, I think, in Washington before that.

Mr. MORRIS. You say you had met her earlier?

Mr. TODD. I think I had met her in Washington before that. I I can't recall the name under which she wrote.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you not read anything about Louise Bransten at any time?

Mr. TODD. Have I read anything—

Mr. MORRIS. Have you read anything about her, her appearances before congressional committees or information about her before congressional committees?

Mr. TODD. No. I never knew that she appeared before any congressional committees.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know a gentleman named G. G. Dolbin?

Mr. TODD. That is a name that I do not recall ever hearing before.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you dine with Dolbin on August 9, 1946?

Mr. TODD. I am sure I did not. I would have known.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Feodor Garanin?

Mr. TODD. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Is your testimony, then, that you did not dine with Dolbin at that time?

Mr. TODD. I am sure I did not. I never heard the name before.

Mr. MORRIS. G. G. Dolbin?

Mr. TODD. As far as I know, I never heard the name.

Mr. MORRIS. Mikhail Federov was your successor in Tass, was he not?

Mr. TODD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, who was he?

Mr. TODD. He was a Soviet citizen who came here as a correspondent of Tass.

Mr. MORRIS. And he took your place?

Mr. TODD. He took my place in 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you know the last witness here, Samuel Krafstur?

Mr. TODD. Yes; he worked in Tass. He worked up at the Capitol for some time.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you know a woman named Mary Jane Keeney?

(No response.)

Mr. MORRIS. Her husband's name is Philip Keeney.

Mr. TODD. Yes; I knew Mrs. Keeney.

Mr. MORRIS. She has stayed at your home, has she not; she and Mr. Keeney have stayed at your home?

Mr. TODD. She has not made her home there.

Mr. MORRIS. No. But she has stayed overnight at your home, she and her husband?

Mr. TODD. No; her husband, never.

Mr. MORRIS. But she has?

Mr. TODD. I think she was there at one time.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you know David Wahl?

Mr. TODD. I don't remember that name.

Mr. MORRIS. David Wahl?

Mr. TODD. I don't remember that name.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that Mary Jane Keeney was reprimanded by David Wahl for having visited you?

Mr. TODD. I never heard of any such things.

Mr. MORRIS. And it is your testimony that you do not know David Wahl?

Mr. TODD. I don't recall that name.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know John Marsalka, who resided at 3317 R Street NW.?

Mr. TODD. He may be someone that I have met. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a stag party at his home on August 22, 1946?

Mr. TODD. Marsalka? That may be the man. I attended a party. It may have been Marsalka's. I think I met Marsalka at 1 or 2 parties over the past 10 years. That was 10 years ago, was it?

Mr. MORRIS. 1946 is the particular one that I am asking about.

Mr. TODD. Yes, 10 years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you on December 9, 1947, go to David Wahl's home at 3 Lexington Street, in Kensington, Md.?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer—I am not sure. I will decline to answer that under the protection of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Johnson asked me the street here. That was 3 Lexington Street, Kensington, Md.

Now, you know Jean Montgomery, do you not?

Mr. TODD. Yes, she worked for Tass.

Mr. MORRIS. She worked for Tass. When did you last see Jean Montgomery, Mr. Todd.

Mr. TODD. When did I last see her? I should say about a year ago.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. What were the circumstances of that meeting?

Mr. TODD. It was just before she left the employment of Tass, I should say.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, can you recall being on the presidium at the Communist Party convention in Portland, Oreg., in 1939?

Mr. TODD. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall being on the presidium at the Communist Party convention in Portland, Oreg., in 1939?

Mr. TODD. I never attended any Communist meeting in my life, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. That was not exactly the question, Mr. Todd. Maybe that—

Mr. TODD. The answer is "No."

Mr. MORRIS. You did not attend?

Mr. TODD. No.

Mr. MORRIS. You have a nephew, Victor Hugo Todd?

Mr. TODD. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall speaking at a farewell party for Robert Hall at Inspiration House on November 21, 1952?

Mr. TODD. I cannot recall making any speech anywhere.

Mr. MORRIS. For Robert Hall?

Mr. TODD. For Robert Hall or anyone else.

Mr. MORRIS. I asked if you spoke there. Maybe you spoke there without making a speech.

Can you remember a farewell party for Robert Hall?

Mr. TODD. I think I shall decline to answer on the grounds of my protection under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember speaking at a northwest club of the Progressive Party on March 28, 1953?

Mr. TODD. I do not remember.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not remember that. By way of refreshing your recollection, I will mention it was held at the home of Barbara Bruce, 521 Massachusetts Avenue NW.

Mr. TODD. 521 Massachusetts Avenue NW.? I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Barbara Bruce?

Mr. TODD. Never.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Panyushkin? He used to be the Ambassador.

Mr. TODD. Mr. Panyushkin was the Ambassador here for 4 or 5 years. I met him.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what were your relationships with Ambassador Panyushkin?

Mr. TODD. My relations were that, at receptions, I shook hands with him, and to the best of my knowledge I never had any private talk with him or private interview.

Mr. MORRIS. You say to the best of your knowledge you had none?

Mr. TODD. To the best of my knowledge, I had no private interviews with Ambassador Panyushkin.

Mr. MORRIS. And did your work as a Tass reporter bring you in contact, other than the formal way you have described, with Ambassador Panyushkin?

Mr. TODD. I have already testified in executive session that I occasionally called individually at the Soviet Embassy, but I did not on those occasions see the Ambassador.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a woman named Rose Yardumian? She used to be a secretary for the Institute of Pacific Relations here in Washington.

Mr. TODD. I don't think I ever met such a person. I can't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. The name means nothing to you?

Mr. TODD. It means nothing to me, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster? Did you ever meet Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

Mr. TODD. I may have.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you try to refresh your recollection on that score, Mr. Todd?

Mr. TODD. I decline to answer on the grounds of my protection under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. William Ludwig Ullman?

Mr. TODD. The same response.

Mr. MORRIS. You know Robert F. Hall; do you not?

Mr. TODD. I know Robert F. Hall.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Robert F. Hall?

Mr. TODD. He is connected with the Daily Worker or the Sunday Worker in New York. Is that the Robert Hall?

Mr. MORRIS. That is the Robert Hall. And his wife testified here today. Now, I wonder if you would tell us what relationship existed between Tass News Agency and the Daily Worker during the period of your employment by that agency.

Mr. TODD. None whatever; none whatever.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you know Robert F. Hall?

Mr. TODD. Because he was a correspondent of the Daily Worker in Washington.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. And yet you did come to know him?

Mr. TODD. Yes. I have known hundreds of correspondents in Washington, and it would be quite natural that I would know him.

Mr. MORRIS. But Robert Hall is a person who was well known to you, was he not?

Mr. TODD. He was well known to——

Mr. MORRIS. He has visited your home, has he not?

Mr. TODD. I do not think he ever visited my home. He may have, but I don't recall it. I don't think so.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you visited his home?

Mr. TODD. Have I visited his home? I suppose I have visited once or twice.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Lee Pressman?

Mr. TODD. Who?

Mr. MORRIS. Lee Pressman.

Mr. TODD. I met him. He was in Federal service when I met him. I have never met him since he was in Federal service. He was a lawyer.

Mr. MORRIS. Owen Lattimore?

Mr. TODD. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Owen Lattimore?

Mr. TODD. No, I have never met him.

Mr. MORRIS. You have never met him?

Mr. TODD. No.

Mr. MORRIS. John Carter Vincent?

Mr. TODD. I know the name. I have seen him at the State Department. I don't know him.

Mr. MORRIS. You have seen him and conversed with him?

Mr. TODD. I don't recall conversing with him. He came home from his post and I believe he was brought out to talk to press correspondents. That is my impression now, but it is a long time ago. I remember he was under attack for a long time.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Lauchlin Currie?

Mr. TODD. Currie was in the State Department during the war, and I have seen him there.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you converse with him at any time?

Mr. TODD. I suppose I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you tell us the nature of your conversations with him?

Mr. TODD. No; I cannot. For many years I was stationed—I had a desk in the press room at the State Department, and I saw a good many of these people around then. I think that Mr. Currie came in and talked to a group of pressmen several times. He had something to do with China. I think the President sent him over to China.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, to get back to Oliver Edmund Clubb, you took Mr. Clubb to see Boris Skvirsky, did you not?

Mr. TODD. I am not sure about it. Mr. Skvirsky had come here from the Far East, and had come here through the State Department at the time of the Washington conference. I cannot recall the circumstances. I take it Mr. Clubb has testified.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, he has made mention of that fact in a diary that appeared in the record of a congressional committee:

"So we dined at the Press Club. The morning of the 6th, Todd took me to see Skvirsky, head of the Soviet Information Bulletin in Washington. Questions on Soviet China were quick, direct, and to the point."

Can you recall that occasion?

Mr. TODD. I can't recall it. It may be that I accompanied him to meet Mr. Skvirsky. It may be.

Mr. MORRIS. And it is your testimony that you do not recall meeting G. G. Dolbin, of the Soviet Foreign Office?

Mr. TODD. No, never. I cannot recall that name at all, ever meeting him.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet a woman named Alice Barrows?

Mr. TODD. Yes, I met Alice Barrows. She was in the Office of Education for 20 years or so.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the occasion of your meeting Alice Barrows?

Mr. TODD. Twenty-five years ago, or more—30 years ago—some social occasion. I didn't—

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, did you have occasion to meet Earl Browder?

Mr. TODD. I don't think I ever met Earl Browder. I don't think so. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Todd, did you have occasion to read any of the reports on the hearings of the Institute of Pacific Relations held by this subcommittee?

Mr. TODD. No, I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not. Your name did come up from time to time throughout that.

Mr. TODD. Yes. I haven't read those.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Edward C. Carter?

Mr. TODD. (No response.)

Mr. MORRIS. Edward C. Carter?

Mr. TODD. Carter?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. TODD. I met him once. He was the Carter in the State Department. How long ago that is, I don't know. When Mr. Hull was Secretary. He would come to see Mr. Hull, and several of us newspapermen surrounded him.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Vladimir Rogoff?

Mr. TODD. I testified in executive session that Mr. Rogoff came through Washington and I met him at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about that, Mr. Todd?

Mr. TODD. Rogoff came to the Tass office, it was during the war, and he said—he was with a man from the New York office of Tass, a Soviet citizen.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was he?

Mr. TODD. Alexandrov, who was the acting manager.

Mr. MORRIS. And he brought him to see you in Washington?

Mr. TODD. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, whom else? Did you visit anyone else?

Mr. TODD. Did he visit anyone else?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you and he together visit anyone else?

Mr. TODD. No; not that I know of.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not bring him down to the State Department?

Mr. TODD. No, I did not. To the best of my knowledge, Mr. Alexandrov and Mr. Rogoff went around to various places, and I think he was here just 1 day.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in order to put some of these questions in context, to indicate what evidence I am questioning the witness about, in connection with our IPR hearings, we had a letter from Rose Yardumian, to Edward C. Carter, dated January 20, 1944, in which she said:

DEAR MR. CARTER: I received your letter of January 17 with copies of the telegrams you sent Mr. Hiss and Mr. Currie. I called Alger Hiss yesterday morning and he told me that he had received your wire but was sure that I would understand that he could not make the first advance in arranging a private talk with Rogoff. He mentioned Rogoff's articles on War and the Working Class, and that Rogoff's material had caused considerable controversy in circles here. He said that if Larry Todd wanted to bring Rogoff to Hornbeck's office, they would not refuse to see him. I am not sure that I understand the machinations of our State Department. Bill Johnson saw no point in my trying to get in touch with Hornbeck directly since presumably Hiss had consulted with Hornbeck.

Now, can you recall anything about that episode described by Mr. Hiss there?

MR. TODD. I can't recall that. I knew Mr. Hornbeck, of course. He was in charge of Far Eastern Affairs in the State Department, and I used to see him occasionally. I haven't the faintest recollection as to whether—

MR. MORRIS. You just recall meeting Rogoff about that time though?

MR. TODD. In connection with Hornbeck?

MR. MORRIS. No; not with Hornbeck; no, no. You do recall meeting Vladimir Rogoff?

MR. TODD. Oh, Rogoff was here. He came here one day and went away the next. He was on his way from Shanghai to Russia, and I met him, and I doubt very much whether he got up to see Hornbeck. It may be, but I doubt it.

MR. MORRIS. I am not asking you that. I am asking you, Mr. Todd, whether you recall anything about this statement of Mr. Hiss', attributed to Mr. Hiss in this letter, that the thing for Rogoff to do was to have you bring Rogoff down to the State Department?

MR. TODD. No. I never heard of that.

MR. MORRIS. Did you know Mr. Hiss?

MR. TODD. Which—

MR. MORRIS. Alger Hiss?

MR. TODD. No. I never —

MR. MORRIS. You never had occasion to meet him?

MR. TODD. Never.

MR. MORRIS. He speaks in the letter as if he knew you—

* * * if Larry Todd wanted to bring Rogoff to Hornbeck's office, they would not refuse to see him.

MR. TODD. All I can say is that I never knew Mr. Hiss. I knew him by sight, of course. He had been around here for years. I knew Hiss by sight. I didn't know that he knew me by sight. But I was fairly well known. After all, I served 40 years in the Press Gallery.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions of this particular witness at this time.

MR. TODD, it may be that this examination is not complete. May we ask you if you will agree to return at some time, by phoning your attorney?

MR. TODD. Yes.

MR. MORRIS. It may not be necessary. But in the event it is, I will call Mr. Rein.

MR. REIN. Will we get sufficient notice?

MR. MORRIS. You will get sufficient notice.

SENATOR JOHNSTON. So you hold yourself in readiness if we should want to call you back at a future time.

Mr. TODD. Surely.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, we have Mr. Folsom here, Franklin Folsom. Will you stand and be sworn, Mr. Folsom?

Senator JOHNSTON. Hold up your right hand. Do you swear that the testimony you give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FOLSOM. I do.

TESTIMONY OF FRANKLIN FOLSOM, ACCOMPANIED BY STANLEY FAULKNER, HIS ATTORNEY

Senator JOHNSTON. Have a seat.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. FOLSOM. Franklin Folsom, 16 Farm Lane, Roosevelt, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Folsom, have you been an employee of Tass News Agency?

Mr. FOLSOM. Before answering the question, I should like to know what I am charged with.

Mr. MORRIS. There are no charges, Mr. Folsom. The Internal Security Subcommittee is trying to determine for the record, for Congress, the nature of the activities of American citizens who have been employed by Tass News Agency.

Now, our information is that you have been employed by Tass News Agency, and we are subpoenaing you in the hope that you might be able to give us information on the workings of this particular organization. And that is why you have been called here this morning.

Senator JOHNSTON. We want the witness to understand that he is not accused of anything, but we are seeking information whereby we can protect America, and for that reason the questions that will be asked here will be trying to get information whereby we can better serve our country by passing the necessary laws in the Congress of the United States.

Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Folsom, you have worked for Tass News Agency, have you not?

Mr. FOLSOM. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the first amendment, which guarantees freedom of the press, and on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Senator JOHNSTON. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. FOLSOM. I am.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you have your Government at heart?

Mr. FOLSOM. I consider myself a patriotic American citizen.

Senator JOHNSTON. I want you to think of that as you answer these questions, then.

Mr. MORRIS. What are you doing now, Mr. Folsom?

Mr. FOLSOM. I decline to answer that question for the reasons already stated.

Mr. MORRIS. You cannot tell us how you are now employed?

Mr. FOLSOM. I have given you my answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. Folsom?

Mr. FOLSOM. Boulder, Colo.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Now, what has been your education?

Mr. FOLSOM. I decline to answer that question for the reasons stated.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean you refuse to tell us where you went to school?

Mr. FOLSOM. You have my answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Because you might possibly be giving testimony against yourself?

Mr. FOLSOM. Yes.

Senator JOHNSTON. Did you finish any college?

Mr. FOLSOM. I have given you my answer as to my education.

Senator JOHNSTON. You refuse to answer that question, too?

Mr. FOLSOM. (Nods head affirmatively.)

Mr. MORRIS. On September 30, 1948, were you living at 142 East 27th Street, New York City?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Mr. FOLSOM. Will you repeat that date and address again?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you reside at 142 East 27th Street, New York City, on September 30, 1948?

Mr. FOLSOM. At approximately that date, I did reside at that address. I don't recall exactly.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, according to a statement filed with the Foreign Agents Registration Section of the Department of Justice, you were listed as an employee of Tass news agency. Were you employed by Tass News Agency, as that registration indicated at that time?

Mr. FOLSOM. I have answered you on the question before.

(The report of Tass, as above referred to appears in part A at pages 451 to 460.)

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been the executive secretary of the League of American Writers?

Mr. FOLSOM. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments, and the privilege which they afford me.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you tell us what the League of American Writers is or was?

Mr. FOLSOM. I decline to answer that question for the reasons stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, would you give us the citation on the League of American Writers?

Mr. MANDEL. The League of American Writers was cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark on June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been on the executive board of the American Committee To Save Refugees?

Mr. FOLSOM. I decline to answer that question for the reasons stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a contributor to Masses in Mainstream, in 1949?

Mr. FOLSOM. I decline to answer that question for the reasons stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, in view of the attitude of this witness, I have no more questions to ask him at this time.

Senator JOHNSTON. The witness will be excused at this time, but with the understanding that we will in all probability call you back before this committee at a future time, at which we will propound to you certain questions and see if we can receive an answer. If we do

not, then we may have to take whatever course that we see fit in order to find out information that we desire.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like, Mr. Chairman, to ask the witness if he is now a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. FOLSOM. I decline to answer that question for the reasons stated.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. The witness is excused until further call by the committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you.

Are there any more witnesses now in the hearing room?

Counsel, have we heard all your witnesses?

Mr. FAULKNER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Counsel Forer and Rein, have we heard all their witnesses?

Are there any other witnesses to be heard here this morning?

(No response.)

Mr. MORRIS. The next meeting of the subcommittee, Senator, will be tomorrow morning at 10:30.

Senator JOHNSTON. All right.

The witnesses will be notified to be there.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. They are excused at this time.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10:30 a. m., Wednesday, April 18, 1956.)

At a hearing July 18, 1956, the following account of the current activities of Cedric Belfrage, former editor of the National Guardian, as transmitted by the Associated Press on July 13, 1956, was ordered into the record at this point as exhibit No. 231-A.

EXHIBIT No. 231-A

London (AP).—Cedric Belfrage, British-born writer deported from the United States because of Communist connections, is now broadcasting for Moscow radio.

Belfrage, who was shipped back to his native England last August, came on the air from Moscow today. The broadcast was the first indication he had gone to Russia.

In his broadcast he indicated that Russia has quit jamming United States and British broadcasts. He said the Voice of America is popular in Russia "as long as it plays music, which it does for 2 hours a day."

"Everyone wants to hear American popular music," he reported, "And I'd say they just can't get enough of it."

(The following statement, made by Chairman Eastland on March 15, commenting on testimony received by the subcommittee on February 21, was ordered into the record at a meeting of the subcommittee on June 26, Senator Eastland presiding:)

Communists seem to feel, Senator James O. Eastland said today, that they can shed their Communist Party label and continue to be active in the Soviet cause.

Commenting on testimony of three employees of Tass, the official Soviet news agency, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, of which he is chairman, Senator Eastland said:

"The chief American officer of this agency, Harry Freeman, assistant manager, insisted that he has not been a member of the Communist Party since 1941. He quoted purported standing instructions from the head of the bureau in that year

that no employee shall engage in political activities. He denied that he is now a party member but invoked the fifth amendment as to whether he ever had been.

"However, when he was asked if he had, since he became a Tass employee, written for the Daily Worker, Freeman replied that he had not done so since 1941 but would invoke the fifth amendment regarding any such activity prior to that year.

"He also retracted his denial of associating with persons he had known to be active in Soviet espionage."

On this matter the record shows the following colloquy:

"Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you, since you have been a Tass newsman, associated with people whom you have known to be active in Soviet espionage?"

"Mr. FREEMAN. No; not to my knowledge.

"Mr. MORRIS. Not to your knowledge. Did you know a party named Hede Massing, who has testified before this committee?"

"Mr. FREEMAN. On that, Judge, I will invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment and decline to answer.

"The CHAIRMAN. Have you been guilty of espionage?"

"Mr. FREEMAN. No.

"The CHAIRMAN. At any time?"

"Mr. FREEMAN. No, Senator, never.

"Mr. MORRIS. In view of your declination to answer the question, Mr. Freeman, about Hede Massing, would you want to change your answer to the first question?"

"Mr. FREEMAN. Will you repeat the first question?"

"Mr. MORRIS. The first question, in the interests of saving time, as I recall it, was this: Have you, since you have been a Tass correspondent, associated with anyone whom you knew to be active in the Soviet espionage apparatus?"

"Mr. FREEMAN. I will decline to answer that.

"Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you will revise your answer?"

"(The witness consults with his counsel.)

"Mr. FREEMAN. I decline to answer that, and I invoke the fifth amendment."

Freeman also invoked the fifth amendment when asked if he had any associations with Gerhardt Eisler, at one time the official representative in this country of the Communist International; whether he knew Whittaker Chambers had been a Communist operative, whether he knew Louise Bransten or a Comintern official who went by the name of Ewart.

"I am impressed with the similarity of this pretended renunciation of Communist Party membership under the 1941 order with the procedure adopted by Maurice Travis, an official of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union," Senator Eastland said. "Travis declared in a signed article printed in the organization's official publication, the Union, that he had resigned from the Communist Party for the express purpose of signing a Taft-Hartley affidavit in 1949 that he was not a party member. Yet, in testimony before this subcommittee in 1952, he invoked the fifth amendment when he was asked if he was a party member on the day he testified before us."

"The subcommittee is presently engaged in an effort to show how the Soviet operates in the United States through other agencies than the Communist Party. In previous hearings, it has heard testimony that between 80 and 85 percent of Tass employees are espionage agents."

The printed record of testimony by Freeman, Hays Jones, and Sasha Lurie was made available for public distribution today.

Jones, who described himself as a market editor, said he worked as a seaman in his early days, invoked the fifth amendment on a question as to whether he ever acted as a courier for the Communist Party. He also refused to acknowledge authorship of a pamphlet bearing his name and entitled "In a Soviet America; Seamen and Longshoremen Under the Red Flag." This pamphlet ended with the assertion that "the Communist Party will continue to lead the working class * * * to a Soviet America."

Mrs. Lurie said she was an editor. She testified she had previously been editor of Labor Defender, official publication of the legal arm of the Communist Party, and of Equal Justice, which succeeded Labor Defender. She invoked the fifth amendment when asked whether she wrote a pamphlet entitled "Women in Action," and bearing her name. This pamphlet concluded: "Women of America, join the Communist Party and march shoulder to shoulder with the toiling masses toward a Soviet America."

Freeman testified that, since the retirement of Kenneth Durant in 1944, all managers of Tass have been Soviet citizens. He said the agency now has 23 employees, at least 11 of whom are American citizens. The Washington bureau,

he said, is manned by two Soviet citizens. The agency also has an office in United Nations which is used by the New York staff.

Its writers attend press conferences, including those at the White House and State Department, have access to the Press Galleries of Congress and the United Nations and to committee hearings on an equality with staff members of the American press associations and representatives of American publications.

(The following statement, made by Chairman Eastland on March 19, commenting on testimony before the subcommittee on February 23, was ordered into the record at a meeting of the subcommittee June 26, Senator Eastland presiding:)

The official Soviet news agency, Tass, poses a major security problem to the United States, Senator James O. Eastland, (Democrat, Mississippi) said today.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, of which he is chairman, has recently been hearing a considerable volume of testimony about the agency, how it works, how it obtains its personnel, the type of news it handles, and the way it selects its news.

"We have heard testimony, under oath," Senator Eastland said, "that 80 to 85 percent of Tass employees are agents of one or another of the several Soviet intelligence groups.

"For instance, Col. Ismail Ege, who was chief of the fourth section of Soviet Military Intelligence, charged with procuring technical military detail, told us that, when he was assigned to Berlin, in 1941, he was given credentials as a Tass employee under an assumed name and false personal history. At that time, he said, every member of the Tass staff was a Soviet intelligence operative. The same thing, he said, was true in Ankara, when he was assigned there later as press attaché.

"Tass, he said, is an excellent 'cover' for a secret agent because 'we had social standing * * * (were) invited to social parties, to conferences, to press conferences. We had access to press members of other agencies.' "

Ege said that, from his 12 years as a Soviet intelligence agent, from his contacts with the director of Soviet intelligence and other high-ranking intelligence officers, he knew that Tass is used in the United States, just as it is in other countries. He said Tass should be even more effective in the United States because of "freedom of movement * * * freedom of speech and (because) people could not believe that Tass was used for military espionage."

The Communist Party has its own network, Ege said, with contacts with the military groups and secret police. But he said Tass members are not allowed special orders to come in contact with foreign Communists, because of the possibility that either or both might be exposed.

Any contact, he said, between the Communist Party and the military intelligence or secret police networks is made secretly.

It is forbidden, Ege said, to use Tass transmission facilities for intelligence matters. Intelligence reports, he explained, are sent to Moscow by diplomatic pouch, or in cipher by radio.

Since the Soviet is a big power, he said, it needs cover for many espionage agents, and for that purpose it uses "all Soviet institutions operating abroad, like Soviet Embassies, consulates, trade missions, and so on," as well as Tass. He said that, while the first, second, and third secretaries of a Soviet Embassy are used as cover for intelligence operators, Embassy employees are suspect and subject to surveillance. Other witnesses have testified that while Panyushkin was Ambassador to this country from 1947 to 1953, he was chief of the Soviet intelligence service in Washington and that, after his departure from the United States, became a high official in the Soviet intelligence service in Moscow. One of these witnesses, himself, operated as a Soviet intelligence agent from the cover of second secretary of a Soviet foreign mission.

Colonel Ege declared that, even in its news report, Tass presents a distorted picture of world events.

"We were ordered," he said, "to select news in order that it be used in the interests of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." He asserted: "I don't know a fact or a day when Tass was just engaged in an objective way of gathering news for news."

"Thus," said Senator Eastland, "we seem to have two indictments against this Soviet news agency: first, that it is used as a cover for Soviet spies; second, that it serves the interest of Soviet propagandists who take the selected news items and turn them back, in a distorted way to the whole world.

"I would not disturb the freedom of operation of any legitimate news agency or newspaper reporters in this country, nor do I wish to lessen any freedoms which are enjoyed by our newsmen abroad, but it seems to me there should be some way to give fuller protection to the security and good name of the United States when it is subjected to such activities as have been attributed to Tass."

The testimony of Colonel Ege before the subcommittee on February 23, was made available today for public distribution.

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NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index.

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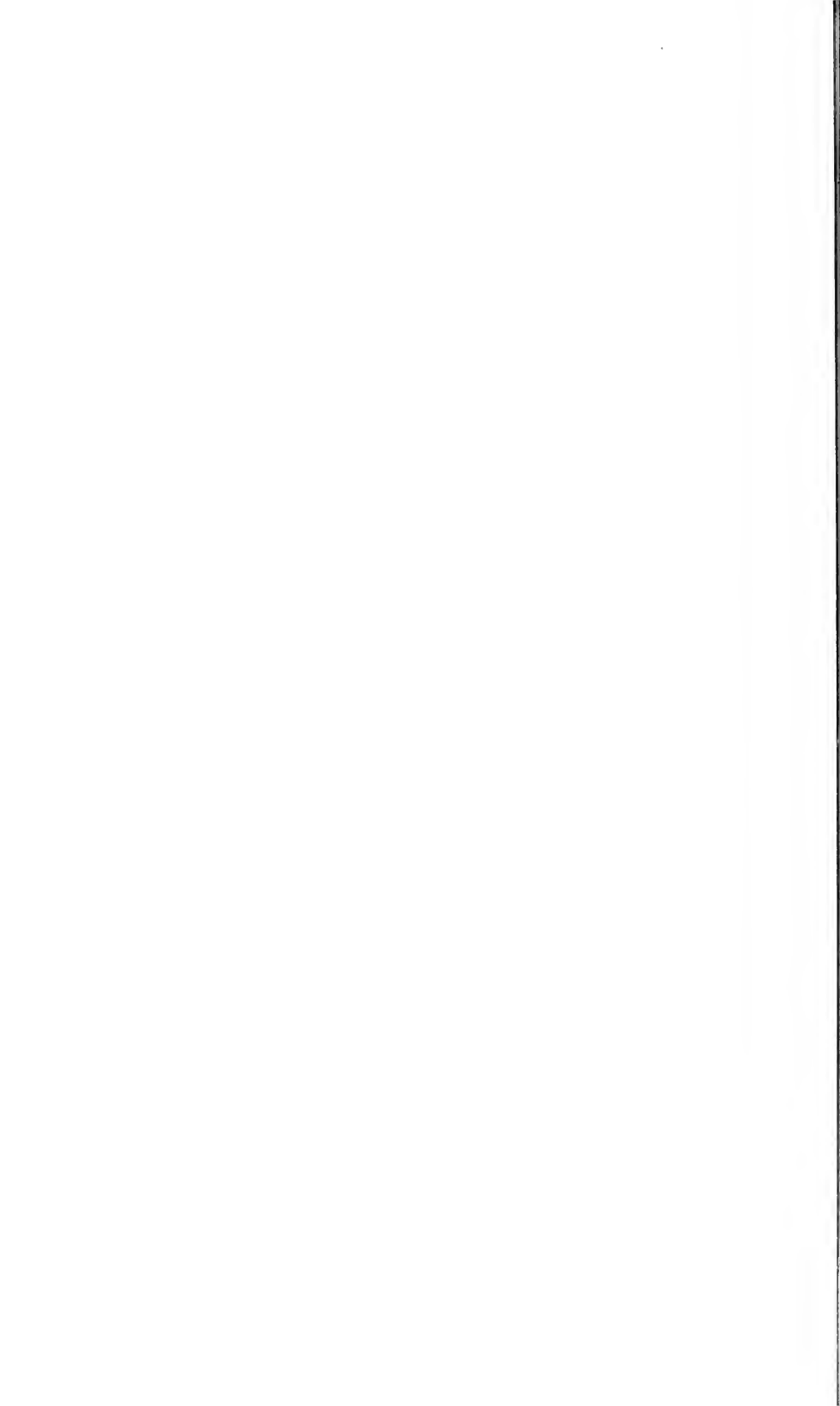
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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

APRIL 19 AND 20, 1956

PART 16

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, APRIL 19, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL
SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess and subsequent postponement, at 10:45 a. m., in room P-38, United States Capitol Building, Senator Arthur V. Watkins presiding.

Present: Senator Watkins (presiding).

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; and Robert McManus, investigator.

Senator WATKINS. The committee will be in session.

Mr. MORRIS. Father Rigney, will you stand and be sworn, please?

Senator WATKINS. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give in the matter now pending before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Father RIGNEY. I do.

Senator WATKINS. Mr. Morris, you may examine your witness.

TESTIMONY OF FATHER HAROLD WILLIAM RIGNEY

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter?

Father RIGNEY. My name is Harold William Rigney, member of the Society of the Divine Word. My address is St. Mary's Mission House, Techy, Ill.

Mr. MORRIS. Father Rigney, where were you born?

Father RIGNEY. I was born in Chicago on December 18, 1900.

Mr. MORRIS. And where did you receive your training, your religious training?

Father RIGNEY. Most of it I received at St. Mary's Mission House, Techy, Ill.; not all of it. I attended the preparatory seminary at that institution and also the major seminary. I was ordained April 19, 1930. I was ordained a priest.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Father Rigney, when did you go to China?

Father RIGNEY. I left for China on May 27, 1946, and arrived in China, at Shanghai, June 1, 1946. I traveled by air.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what was your assignment in China at that time?

Father RIGNEY. I was assigned by my superiors to the staff of the Fu Jen University. That is the Chinese name. The name in English is the Catholic University of Peking, not Peiping, because the university was established when the city was called Peking, and it has changed its name 4 or 5 times since then back and forth from Peking

to Peiping. And now the Communists call it Peking. So in order to avoid confusion, I have combined the two names and simply called it the Catholic University, the Fu Jen Catholic University.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what were you at the Catholic University of Peking? Were you the rector?

Father RIGNEY. I was appointed rector and entered office as rector on August 4, 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Now, will you describe for the record the scope of that particular school, I mean, how many students you had and what you specialized in?

Father RIGNEY. The Fu Jen Catholic University was a private university of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, and it was administered by the Society of the Divine Word.

Mr. MORRIS. How many students did you have?

Father RIGNEY. The student enrollment reached the number of 2,500, and at this time, around about 10 percent were Catholics. Most were non-Catholics. And the same held good for the staff members. Most were not Catholics. The university had been founded and financed by the Catholic Church. In that way, it was Catholic.

Mr. MORRIS. During the war, between the Chinese Government forces and the Chinese Communist armies, was the university able to operate unmolested, and if so, until what time?

Father RIGNEY. The university was able to operate until after the Communists captured Peking, but prior—

Mr. MORRIS. When was that?

Father RIGNEY. The capture took place on February 1, 1949, after a siege that lasted about 40 days, when the armies of Lin Piao entered and occupied the city on February 1, 1949. Now, prior to the opening up of the siege of Peking, during which time the city was surrounded and besieged by the Chinese Communists, and which siege started around December 12, 1948—prior to this, the Communists had a very active underground in all the universities, including the Fu Jen Catholic University at Peking.

Mr. MORRIS. You say they had an active underground there?

Father RIGNEY. Yes. You asked me about my experiences with the Communists before?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. The committee is interested in such matters.

Father RIGNEY. Yes. They had a very active underground and this underground fomented strikes, student strikes, in different classes, different colleges, and even succeeded in bringing about a general strike of the university in the latter part of December 1946. In fact, the strike started December 18, 1946, and lasted about 2 weeks.

Mr. MORRIS. And it directly affected you, because at the time you were the rector?

Father RIGNEY. Yes. But after that, I was able to fight the Communist underground. I organized my own group to combat the Communist underground. So there were no more general strikes after that, and no more strikes in any colleges, and I do not think there were any strikes—perhaps 1 or 2 strikes in the classes—but no more demonstrations. The university was the quietest of the universities in the Peking area.

Mr. MORRIS. But you say a similar condition existed on the other campuses; is that right?

Father RIGNEY. Oh, yes; very much so. The Communists were active in all the universities.

Mr. MORRIS. What form did this activity take?

Father RIGNEY. Well, fomenting strikes and then putting on stage performances under plea of raising funds for some social and charitable undertaking, and during the play demonstration, songs would be sung, a Communist melody, but they would use other words. They could not use the Communist words because they would be arrested by the Nationalist police, but they would use the Communist melody, and all the students knew exactly that this melody was a Communist melody, and therefore the actors on the stage were promoting the idea of communism.

I stopped these. I limited the number of these plays and gave donations to the different organizations that were trying to raise money, because I knew the whole thing was so much hypocrisy. The Communists are very good at putting up fronts. They are very expert at deception, and they like to combine their subversive activities with a respectable front, which fools many people.

Mr. MORRIS. Father Rigney, what happened when the Chinese Communists occupied the city of Peking?

Father RIGNEY. As far as the university was concerned, they first said that they would protect the university and that no one at the university should leave; staff members should not abandon their posts; students should not leave the university. But after a few days, they started their program to take over the university.

I tried to enter into a conference with the representatives of the staff and student body who were controlled by the Communists and work out a modus vivendi and come to some terms. I had been instructed by the Apostolic Nuncio to China in October 1948, to make an attempt to work out a modus vivendi in the event of the occupation of Peking by the Communists. And so I tried to work out this modus vivendi. I made concessions to them and had fathers and sisters give up certain key posts and asked them to come and sit down and talk over matters so that we could come to some working agreement. But they did not. They would not come to any terms.

They come to the peace table and talk only when they have to, when they have lost everything and cannot make any gains outside that.

Here we were on the defensive. There was no question of that. We had no trump cards. So they did not have to come and sit down at the table. They used different tactics. They set up a committee, a reformation committee to reform the university, and the church was not represented on this reformation committee.

I asked for representation. I tried for a long time, perhaps 2 weeks, to get representation, and I could not get it. This committee went into operations and removed members of the faculty, changed some of the courses, and even changed the university's song. They changed the colors of the university and introduced political courses for the whole university which were communistic, materialistic, atheistic courses.

Now, you asked us before about the size of the university. I forgot to mention it—

Mr. MORRIS. About the what?

Father RIGNEY. The size. The university had 2,500 students at one time.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Well, Father RIGNEY, what happened to you personally?

Father RIGNEY. After the Communists had been in Peking for about 2½ years, during which time I had resisted their efforts to take over the university, or to destroy its character as a free center of culture, the university was taken over by the Communist government on October 12, 1950. I was then——

Mr. MORRIS. The Chinese Communist armies occupied Peking on February 1, 1949?

Father RIGNEY. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. In the meantime, you tried to work out a *modus vivendi*?

Father RIGNEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. But by October 12, 1950, they openly took over the university?

Father RIGNEY. Yes. We had ceased our subsidy to the university. The church has ceased subsidizing the university, because the university had become a center of active communism and atheism, and the members of the university, both staff and student body, were obliged to attend these lectures given by members appointed by the Communist government to give talks that were atheistic. They were very objectionable.

Senator WATKINS. Did they allow you any control whatever of the school?

Father RIGNEY. Absolutely not; nothing.

So it finally came down to all this. I presented the whole matter to my superiors in Rome. I said:

You must make up your mind what you are going to do. You have two policies which you can follow: either policy A, which would be to continue to subsidize this university, which has become a center of atheism and communism, subsidize it in the hope that in the not too distant future the government would either be removed, changed, or would change its policy; or follow policy B, which would be cutting off subsidies, because this is no longer a university that has any character of Christianity about it.

Mr. MORRIS. And your superiors selected court B?

Father RIGNEY. This was eventually taken to His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, and he decided he would stand on Catholic principles and that he would not give any more subsidies to the university; we would lose the university first. As a result, the university was taken over.

My superiors then cabled me to return to the United States. During August, the previous August——

Mr. MORRIS. That is, August 1950?

Father RIGNEY. Yes; August 1950.

My residential permit had expired. I had one that lasted for 6 months. That had expired. I applied for an extension of this permit, and this was never granted to me.

Around October 19, after the university had been taken over and after I had been ordered by my superiors to return to the United States, I applied for my exit permit, and this was not granted to me. So for 10 months, from the time of this until my arrest, I was neither allowed to live in China nor allowed to leave China. This can happen only in a Communist country. I suppose it is a question of applied dialectic materialism, in which opposites are equal. To leave and to stay is the

same, according to Communist thinking. Who can figure them out, I don't know.

Senator WATKINS. Did they actually incarcerate you in a prison?

Father RIGNEY. On July 25, 1951, I was arrested as an American spy, and I repudiated these charges. I am not a spy and I never was a spy. I was arrested as a spy, and specific charges were never brought up against me. Neither was any evidence that the government claimed they had against me presented to me so I could answer it. Neither were any witnesses presented before me, nor was I ever allowed an adviser, a lawyer, or a counsel. I was never allowed to talk to anybody in whom I could have any confidence.

I was told by the judge, if you want to call him a judge, in the character of the whole procedure in Communist China—I was told by the judge that I had only two privileges—"privileges," they call them—to accuse myself and to accuse others.

I was not allowed to defend myself. I was not allowed to explain anything which I thought they had as evidence. I was not allowed to argue. I could only stand before the court and accuse myself, confess my crimes, they said, and accuse other people.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how long did you remain in prison, Father Rigney?

Father RIGNEY. I was released by court action from prison on September 11, 1955. I was forbidden, or prevented from seeing anybody in China, freely to see anybody, after this, because I was immediately placed under police guard and taken to a hotel in the southern city of Peking where I was confined in my room. I was told very politely that I didn't have to go down to the dining hall to get my meals; they would bring my meals up to me.

And then I said, "Thank you very much. That is very kind of you to bring up my meals."

I sat in my room. And I got very good meals, I must admit that, because they were trying to give me a good impression.

Mr. MORRIS. This was after September 1955?

Father RIGNEY. After I was released by court order. And then I was taken down by police guard on the train from Peking to Hankow and on down to Canton and on down to the borders of Hongkong, where the police set me free to walk over the Lo Wu Bridge, over the Lo Wu River into the free territory of Her Majesty's crown colony of Hongkong. The Lo Wu River is the boundary between continental China, Communist China, and the British territory of Hongkong.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were more than 4 years in prison?

Father RIGNEY. I was 4 years and 2 months in prison.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did you arrive in Hongkong?

Father RIGNEY. I arrived in Hongkong on September 16, 1955.

Mr. MORRIS. So the intermediate period, then, from your release until the time you got to Hongkong was 5 days?

Father RIGNEY. Yes. I was still under police guard all the way down.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, would you describe the conditions under which you lived in prison in Communist China?

Father RIGNEY. The conditions were rather severe.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about those, Father Rigney?

Father RIGNEY. The room, or the cell, which I lived in at first was about 10 feet by 11, and in the cell there was a platform about a foot and a half high, which was about 6 feet by 11 feet. In other words, it occupied most of the cell. There was no furniture aside from this. And in my early cells there was no floor, only the ground, the bare ground.

There were two holes in this ground through which rats used to come in and go out, the long rats that you find in China, the carriers of the lice that are in turn the carriers of the dreaded typhus, Mongolian typhus. These rats used to run over our bodies at nighttime. I remember waking up one night and feeling something nibbling at the back of my head. I looked around and put my hand there, and there was a big rat that ran away.

The food was very poor. We ate wa tao and bai tsai. The wa tao was a very low grade of maize, or corn. I don't think we grow this corn in the United States. It is something like a popcorn, ground up. It was mixed with water, without any salt or leaven, and then steamed, and although I come from the Corn Belt and like corn very much, one bite and my appetite was gone. It took me about 4 or 5 months to get used to this.

Then aside from the wa tao, we got a little bowl of hot water with a leaf, a little bit of Chinese cabbage, bai tsai, white cabbage. We got this meal twice a day. And we were told that we could eat all we wanted to, but this was not carried out in my case, because about the whole first year of my imprisonment, I was not allowed to take as much wa tao as I wanted to. I had to ask for wa tao from the cell leader, and for the whole first year he never gave me as much as I wanted. I was always hungry. I used to go to sleep dreaming about meals, dreaming about peanuts. I thought if I was ever out of this prison, the first thing I was going to do was buy peanuts on my way home. I thought: I will buy a whole pound of peanuts and eat them before I get back.

Then I was also subjected to physical and mental tortures.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Father, you said at one point there, "we"; "We did this"; "We did that." How many people were incarcerated under these same circumstances?

Father RIGNEY. In the cell that I have described, there were ordinarily 7 or 8 prisoners.

Mr. MORRIS. In a cell 11 feet by 11?

Father RIGNEY. Yes; and sometimes, especially in the wintertime, when you had to wrap up in a blanket, we were so close—I remember one time we had nine in a cell—we were so close that you couldn't lie on your back; you had to lie on your side. There would be a head here and a pair of feet here, then a head and a pair of feet. There wasn't enough room to lie down head by head by head.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, of these 7, 8, or 9 people who occupied the same cell, how many of those were Americans?

Father RIGNEY. I never lived with an American.

Mr. MORRIS. Most of them were Chinese?

Father RIGNEY. Most of them were Chinese.

Mr. MORRIS. Were there any other nationalities?

Father RIGNEY. Occasionally a foreigner. I know of 2 Japanese with whom I lived at different times, 1 Italian, and 1 a citizen of Yugoslavia.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were charges brought against you?

Father RIGNEY (continuing). And then 1 Belgian and 1 German, at different times.

Mr. MORRIS. Were charges against your cellmates pretty much the same as those against you?

Father RIGNEY. Everybody was charged with being a spy at this prison. There were 400 or 500 prisoners in this prison at T'sao Lan Tzu, Hu Tung No. 13.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the cell number, No. 13?

Father RIGNEY. No. That was the number of the prison street. A Hu Tung was a little street, and this street was the entrance to the prison. The entrance was No. 13.

Mr. MORRIS. Father Rigney, were you subjected during this period to any brainwashing?

Father RIGNEY. I was subjected to brainwashing; yes. I was never brainwashed, though.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you describe that for the committee, just what your captors endeavored to do at that time?

Father RIGNEY. Do you want me to describe what I saw going on in my cell with other prisoners or with myself?

Mr. MORRIS. I think, Senator Watkins, we would like both; don't you think?

Senator WATKINS. I think so; yes.

Father RIGNEY. You see, I don't know Chinese very well. I knew enough Chinese to tell them that I didn't know Chinese. So when the brainwashing classes started they would ask me, "What are you thinking about?" And I said in Chinese, "I don't understand Chinese."

So afterward, they degraded me. They expelled me from the class. They put me over to one side where I was isolated, as they said, and then later on they gave me literature in English, and some in French, as part of my brainwashing program.

Now, in the general brainwashing classes, of the rest of the cell, let us say those who spoke Chinese, they proceeded along these lines. I will be very brief. I could talk a half hour or an hour on this, but our time is not unlimited.

The prisoners were arranged in a cell in a circle and they were given certain articles in a paper or common journals to read, items about practical problems of everyday life, about the Communist Party, about socialization of the land, socialization of industry, about the progress of communism in Russia and Rumania, and so on, and so on, you see, and these articles would be pointed out by the warden. Certain ones would be checked off to be studied. Then, say, 1 particular article would be read by members in the ring, members of the class, maybe read 2 or 3 times. Other members would have to repeat these articles, and all the while one of the prisoners, the so-called cell leader, was in charge of the study program, and he had to report, of course, every week about the conduct and the behavior of each prisoner and how he reacted in the study period, the brainwashing period, how zealous he was, and also what attitudes he manifested and what thoughts he manifested.

And then after this article had been read and reviewed, then each prisoner would be obliged to manifest what reactionary thought he had when the article was being read, and during 1951-52, every prisoner had to have a reactionary thought. If he did not have one,

he would get punished. So every prisoner invented one if he did not have one. If one was not spontaneous, he invented one.

Mr. MORRIS. These are reactionary thoughts that are to be dispelled; is that it?

Father RIGNEY. Yes. And these are supposed to be manifested for criticism, for destruction.

So a prisoner comes out with this reactionary thought, and all the other prisoners would criticize this thought and generally abuse him for having the thought. And he has to eventually come to the light and see that he was wrong. If he does not, then he gets punished. He is a reactionary. He is hanging onto his bad thoughts.

The next stage is that each prisoner is asked to manifest what good thoughts he had when that article was read. Each prisoner must have his own wonderful trend of good thoughts.

Mr. MORRIS. Excuse me at this time, Father Rigney.

Father RIGNEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Watkins, we have been taking testimony through the course of 6 or 7 hearings about the activities of American citizens in Red China during the period that we are talking about today.

I would like to offer for the record—and this is a continuation—I think this is the last, is it not, Mr. McManus?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Of the exhibits which we took from the footlocker of William Hinton, which he brought back from Red China to the United States.

I have here, and would like to submit for the record, Senator, marked consecutively, Nos. 32 to 91, with Nos. 87 and 88 by reference only, because they are quite numerous, those documents to go in the record as they are described on that master sheet, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. This is a list prepared of the documents that were taken from that footlocker.

Mr. MORRIS. I think Mr. McManus, who was sworn for this purpose, Senator, may testify about that.

Senator WATKINS. You have already been sworn?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes, I have.

That list was prepared under my supervision. It is an itemized list with descriptive material to identify the documents, identifying material that was taken from the footlocker of William H. Hinton, of which I was the custodian.

Senator WATKINS. The list will be accepted for the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Senator.

(The list referred to, together with the documents therein identified, appears in appendix I of the series "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States.")

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever see the China Weekly Review during this period, Father Rigney?

Father RIGNEY. That is a publication issued in Shanghai?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. The editor was Powell.

Father RIGNEY. Yes. I saw copies of it.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was that presented to you by your captors?

Father RIGNEY. Yes. One issue was presented to me—I forget now exactly the date—and I was to read it. I read some articles.

Mr. MORRIS. Were there articles in there by Joan Hinton and by William Hinton?

Father RIGNEY. I don't remember articles there by Hinton. I did read an article written by Mr. Hinton—I forget his first name.

Mr. MORRIS. That is William Hinton.

Father RIGNEY. William Hinton. I think it was the People's China, and it dealt with the preparation of big scale farm machinery to be used on a state farm where he was employed.

I also read an article by Joan Hinton, which dealt with her experiences in cattle breeding on the farm where she worked. I don't think it was the same farm. It may be, but I don't think it was the same farm that her brother worked on.

Mr. MORRIS. Were those articles given to you, the China Weekly Review and the two articles you described, given to you by your captors?

Father RIGNEY. They were. And they were part of my material which was presented to me for my brainwashing.

Senator WATKINS. Were they in English?

Father RIGNEY. These were all in English.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what effect did this article have on you and others who received it?

Father RIGNEY. Well, I just thought these people were Communists and that they were carrying on propaganda. It did not have much effect on me because I could see through the whole thing, but I do think such articles would tend to give the impression to most of the Chinese, who were not able to evaluate or judge about the United States—it would give them the impression that the people of the United States were pro-Communist and were held from expressing their pro-communism, held down by the imperialistic government of Washington, as they said.

This was the general attitude in all of these approaches or statements, quoted statements, by such American Communists.

Mr. MORRIS. In the executive session, Senator Watkins, we mentioned a radio broadcast given by still another American, a Louis Wheaton.

Father RIGNEY. I heard it.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you hear the radio broadcast?

Father RIGNEY. I heard one radio broadcast by Louis Wheaton, which he gave at the closing session, or one of the closing sessions, of the so-called peace conference at Peking.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference?

Father RIGNEY. Yes, the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

Mr. MORRIS. In October of 1952?

Father RIGNEY. Yes, that is right. And he spoke in very good English. So I understood what he said. As far as I remember, he expressed his—he was glad to be present, and he was glad to do his share to promote peace. Of course, the funny thing is, the Communists never tell you what they mean by "peace." They don't mean the same thing as we do. I am quite sure of that.

I remember he also spoke about how he had greeted and had embraced a Korean, one of the people of Korea—that would be a Korean Communist—and how this Korean had no ill feeling toward him because he, Wheaton, was one of the American people. So the im-

pression this would give, and it gave to members in my cell, because they were told the contents of this, and perhaps the Chinese version was brought to them later—the impression that was given to them was that the American people wanted peace and, of course, the peace that the Chinese Communists are talking about, which is not the same as we mean when we talk about peace, and that the American people were striving to realize this peace and were prevented from realizing it only by the oppressive measures of the imperialistic government of the Pentagon, or of Washington, or of Wall Street, wherever you want to put it.

They brought them all in in their general description of the American Government.

Senator WATKINS. Was this broadcast in English?

Father RIGNEY. This was in English; yes, sir.

Senator WATKINS. What advantage would they have in broadcasting that in English?

Father RIGNEY. Wheaton didn't know Chinese, as far as I know. It had a certain amount of value. If all these different members of different nationalities would get up there in Peking and talk in their own language, one man in English, one man in Arabic, one man in Japanese, another man in Korean, and so on, it gave a very international character. Translations could eventually otherwise later be made of these speeches into Chinese. I am sure they were made.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Watkins, at this point in the record I would like to offer a speech made by a delegate to this peace conference, an American citizen, Anita Willcox, who has appeared as a witness before this committee. And I might say that she refused to answer questions, claiming her privilege against self-incrimination. And I would like to offer that in the record as an example of precisely what this testimony is about here today.

Senator WATKINS. Where did you get this speech?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McManus, will you identify that speech, please?

Mr. McMANUS. I think it is marked on there, Senator. That speech was taken from an issue of the Shanghai News.

Senator WATKINS. I want it for the record to be identified where it was obtained.

Mr. McMANUS. It is from this—

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify it from the source and page?

Senator WATKINS. This says, "Shanghai News, Sunday, October 12, 1952."

Mr. McMANUS. This is the original of it here. This is the Shanghai News.

Senator WATKINS. That is published in English, is it?

Mr. McMANUS. Yes. It is right here on page three.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you took this from the original here which appears in the Shanghai News, Sunday, October 12, 1952?

Mr. McMANUS. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. May that go in the record?

Senator WATKINS. It may go in the record.

Mr. McMANUS. As I say, Senator, Mrs. Willcox did appear before this conference. This is a speech such as was referred to by Father Rigney, a broadcast of which was made by this other gentleman, Mr. Wheaton.

Father RIGNEY. Is that the same speech?

Mr. MORRIS. No. It is the same Peace Conference.

Father RIGNEY. I did not hear it. I do not know anything about it. (The article from the Shanghai News above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 234" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 234

[The Shanghai News, Shanghai, October 12, 1952, p. 3]

UNITED STATES DELEGATE A. WILLCOX'S SPEECH AT PEACE CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 8 SESSION

PEIPING, October 9 (Hsinhua).—United States delegate, Mrs. Anita Willcox, artist, made a statement at the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference on October 8. Excerpts from her statement follow:

We come as representatives of 70 percent of the people of the United States who, when given a chance in a Gallup poll to express their true opinions anonymously, have voted for an immediate end to the war in Korea. We know full well that we, as citizens of a democracy, insofar as we do not act for peace to the full limit of our power, are responsible for the killing of millions of men, women, and children in the Korean war. We come to this conference seeking effective means to stop this murder, conscious that our planes are dropping napalm as we speak. We ask our brothers and sisters of the Asian and Pacific regions to help us stop the rearming of Japan and Germany and the colonial oppression of the peoples of southeast Asia, before new Koreas are set ablaze.

ISC REPORT BE PUBLICIZED

We, of the majority of our people, have come here to demand an end to the killing of prisoners of war at Koje and Cheju. On October 1, while we peace delegates watched the color and glory of a free people celebrating their national day in ancient Peiping, 45 more men were killed at Cheju for the crime of daring to mark with joy the same occasion. Uplifted by the joyous singing of 10,000 children, and strengthened in our anger by their strength, we denounce the criminal attempt to exterminate a people, their industry, and their culture. Our Armed Forces destroy things the people live by—granaries and crops. They call homes, sampans, schools, and horses military targets. Our Air Force blows up oxcarats. Our Navy sinks fishing boats. For this heroism the parents of our soldiers have refused medals awarded by our Government to their dead sons.

To most of our people the horrible facts of our use of napalm are only now becoming known. Of the facts of the germ warfare they are still unaware. The findings of the International Scientific Commission and the testimony of Lts. F. B. O'Neal and P. R. Kniss have not yet been widely circulated in the United States. The administration knows that the whole idea of the spreading of disease is so repugnant to our people that the highest civilian and military authorities and our representatives to the United Nations have flatly denied any such action. They have persisted in these denials even after the confessions of Lts. K. L. Enoch and J. Quinn were reported in the press. Peace organizations will give to our people the opportunity to study the evidence and make up their own minds. We believe that the response will be a demand, in a voice so thunderous it cannot be ignored, that the newspapers publish the report of the International Scientific Commission, and that our Government answer the charges of the commission, ratify the Geneva protocol of 1925 and renounce forever the use of biological warfare.

Most parents refuse to believe that our sons could commit such acts. But the fact is that daily denial of basic rights to our colored brothers at home by lynch terror, police brutality, and social discrimination, conditions our youth for the perpetration of the heinous crimes that are being committed in Korea.

UNITED STATES PREPARATIONS FOR A WORLD WAR

Today Japan is a military base for the wars in Korea and southeast Asia. Our Government, which has just released Alfred Krupp and awarded him \$80 million, is backing the very Japanese war criminals who attacked Pearl Harbor. If Japan is consolidated as a military power, we are in danger not only of a new Korea, but of being driven into a third world war. Our occupation of Taiwan with the remnant armies of the cruel Chiang Kai-shek, is a part of our prepara-

tion for a third world war. And the search for raw materials and soldiers for that projected conflict has intensified our intervention in the countries of Latin America, where increased political pressure for bilateral military pacts has been added to our economic exploitation. One of the major tasks of the peace movement is to make these facts known and felt by everybody at home.

Beyond doubt lies, distortions, and omissions of our press, radio, films, and television account for most of the confusion in the minds of our people. But there is another very important factor which must be taken into consideration: Widespread belief that reduction of our gigantic arms program would cause mass unemployment and depression. The peace movement in our country today is stressing everywhere that peace need not be followed by depression. We rejoiced that from this conference with its immense breadth and practicality, we can take home to our people the message that there are peaceful markets for American productive capacity.

TRADE HELPS PEACE

Development of trade with Asia as well as needed public works at home could take full measure of our production for the foreseeable future. Those peoples of Asia now making their own way, and millions of others moving in the same direction, have created a rapidly expanding market which can give employment to millions of workers in the United States of America.

We have recently become a deficit economy, importing more materials than we export, and with increasing exhaustion of our own resources, we become ever more dependent upon other lands. In India and Latin America there is need for all the food now being hoarded or destroyed, a great and growing market for the product of our farms. Such food is officially termed "surplus." When millions of children at home and abroad are hungry, there is no such thing as surplus food. Its destruction is a sin against mankind and life itself.

Return to peaceful commercial exchange would bring the revival of cultural relations. People should get to know one another.

We all need help from one another in our work of building a new and better world. The Chinese people's controlling of the Huai River might inspire us to harness our own Missouri.

PEACE MOVEMENT MOUNTING IN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In spite of press and radio blackout on peace, in spite of indictment and jailing of peace leaders, our peace organizations now number over 3,000. In them are people from all different segments of our society, rich and poor, Catholic and Protestant and Jew, Mexican and Negro and Anglo and Japanese and Puerto Rican Americans. Attempt to pass a law for universal military training in time of peace was defeated by mass protests of our churches, our mothers, our women's organizations, trade unions, and professional workers. This major victory for peace was won this year because parents do not want their young sons trained systematically to be "killers—worst killers possible." Young people in the United States, feeling the pressures of war, unable to get jobs, to complete their education or to plan any future, are taking a determined stand for peace. As techniques of fascism are increasingly employed by a government with no other solution to our problems, so resistance of the people is growing in city, town, and village. In New York on August 20, 18,000 people met to condemn war and call for immediate peace. This month a referendum is being circulated in all of the States on the following points:

1. A cease-fire in Korea now, with all remaining questions to be settled at an immediate peace conference.
2. Immediate negotiations among major powers leading to settlement of all outstanding differences.
3. Elimination of weapons of mass destruction and an agreed and controlled disarmament.

The reception accorded to peace workers circulating this ballot has been overwhelmingly friendly. We hate this war, we know that it is wrong, and we want peace—peace now.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what effect did the presence of Americans at the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference have on the morale of the Americans and the Europeans who were in the same prison?

Father RIGNEY. It had this effect, that it gave the impression that a large part, at least a large part, of the American people were in favor of peace as the Communists spoke about peace, and that they could not realize this because of the oppression of the Government of the American people, what they called the Wall Street government, the imperialistic Washington government.

And the second effect which it tended to have was that it tended to destroy the hope or minimize the hope in the hearts of many, many Chinese, the hope for liberation, the hope for freedom.

After all, in the Communist police state of China it is impossible for the ordinary Chinese to rise up effectively and revolt. The only possibility they have of freedom would be that God would work a miracle of freedom or that there would be an invasion by Western Powers that would liberate, really liberate China.

Many are living in this hope praying for that day. When they hear of such things as representatives of America coming to the so-called peace conference and talking about the people of America—they do not define what they mean by “people of America”—being all in favor of peace these poor people back in China are more and more oppressed they lose more and more hope.

Mr. MORRIS. And their appearance aids the Chinese Communists to consolidate their conquest of China; is that right?

Father RIGNEY. Yes.

Senator WATKINS. Did you ever have personal contact with any of these Americans that were mentioned?

Father RIGNEY. No. I had contact with an American doctor, a Dr. Hattem. He studied in one of the Carolinas. He went to the University of South Carolina—I am not sure which; I think it was one of the Carolinas—to study medicine.

Mr. MORRIS. You say you met him in prison?

Father RIGNEY. No. I met him in 1946. It was the summer of 1946 when the executive headquarters was then in operation and I went to him in order to request the Communist government the Communist committee there, the executive headquarters, to do what they could to liberate to free some German Catholic missionaries who had been arrested by the Communists in Shanghai and I was introduced to this Dr. Hattem and I made my case before him because he spoke good English and later on I saw him at 1 or 2 cocktail parties when the executive headquarters were closing up.

Mr. MORRIS. Now was he on the side of the Chinese Communists?

Father RIGNEY. Definitely he was. He was married to a Chinese wife. I think she was a Communist. I am not sure about that.

Mr. MORRIS. Now did you hear while you were in prison of the negotiations that were going on during the Korean war?

Father RIGNEY. Yes. I read many reports about these negotiations.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you read about these?

Father RIGNEY. In various publications of the Chinese Communist Government, especially from this. There could have been other issues from Moscow.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you were allowed to read during your incarceration?

Father RIGNEY. Yes. This was part of our brainwashing, to read these different reports.

Mr. MORRIS. Did they come to you in English?

Father RIGNEY. In English, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you would read about the negotiations that took place in Korea?

Father RIGNEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how were these negotiations represented to you?

Father RIGNEY. They were represented—and I read dozens of these different reports and news releases and editorials—the general theme was that the American Government did not want peace, and that they were forced to attend cease-fire and peace conferences, whatever you wish to call them, under pressure of the people of the world, the peoples, the different peoples of the world, the people of different countries, and after they came there, and very unwillingly, they did all they could to sabotage the peace talks and to delay the conclusion of a cease-fire agreement. Afterward there were talks about, at one time, exchanging of prisoners, and again the Americans came to these talks only under pressure of these people, and they exchanged prisoners only under the pressure of the people, and later on, when these negotiations were carried on for the questioning—I don't know what you would call them—prisoners were brought into different tents and asked if they wanted to go to their own country or stay on the side of the prison, the prisoners who were held by the Americans, you know, whether these prisoners wanted to go back to Communist China or Communist Korea or remain in the other countries, this exchange, this questioning, was reported by many articles in such a way as to make it appear that the Americans were trying to sabotage all this; they were preventing the prisoners from freely saying whether they wanted to go back to their home country or not.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you mentioned in executive session the fact that there was much publicity given to the Chou En Lai visit to Nehru.

Father RIGNEY. Yes; very much publicity given to his visit to India, to Nehru, and also to his visit to Burma, and much propaganda was built up on this visit, to the effect that the peoples of India and the peoples of Burma were very pro-Communist, and even the government—

Mr. MORRIS. And representations were made that the Government of India and the Government of Burma were pro-Communist because of these visits?

Father RIGNEY. Yes. That the peoples were very pro-Communist, and even the government was gradually becoming friendly to the Communist government of China.

And also through the influence of the western imperialistic powers, as they said, especially the United States, they were not free to express themselves as openly as they would like to, because of their governments.

And these governments, of course, kept their people down. They capitalized very strongly on these visits of Chou En Lai.

The same way when Nehru came to Peking, there was a tremendous amount of propaganda made about this, to indicate that the Government of India was very friendly to the Government of China, Communist China.

Mr. MORRIS. Father Rigney, I have just one more series of questions. Our Americans who do not cooperate, who are not submissive to the Chinese Communist Government—are they allowed to have freedom of movement throughout occupied China?

Father RIGNEY. Well, all I can say is what happened to me before my arrest. All foreigners, including Americans, who were not arrested were under police restrictions.

Right after the occupation of Peking by the Communists, we foreigners, especially Americans, were not allowed to leave the Walled City of Peking without a special permit of the police, which had to be applied for a day or so in advance.

Later on we were allowed to go out about 5 miles from the city without a permit. But if I wanted to go, say, from Peking to Tientsin, which was only 80 miles away, I had to go through rather a long procedure.

I had to go to the police, the foreign office of the local police, and then apply for passage, permission to go to Tientsin, and I was given a questionnaire to fill out.

There were about 20 or 22 questions to answer, and these questions covered such things as this: My name, where I was born and when I was born, my citizenship and my passport, the number of my passport, where it was issued and when it was issued, and how long it was valid, my residential permit, the number of the permit, when it was issued and where it was issued, and where I wanted to go, why I wanted to go to this place, like Tientsin, what business I had there, whom I would see when I got into the city of Tientsin, where I would stay, and when I would come back and how I would travel.

Of course, that was a ridiculous question. There was only one way to travel, and that was by train. You could not walk. You would get arrested if you walked.

Then I would have to go back home and wait 2 or 3 days and go back to the police office and ask if my permit had been granted, and if it were granted, then I would take this permit and go down to the station, and before I boarded the train, I had to register with a policeman, give my name, address and show my permit with the number of the permit.

And on my permit was also my picture, my photograph. Imagine, a permit to travel 80 miles away called for 2 or 3 photographs, one for the paper I had and one or two for the record.

And after I passed through this policeman at the railroad station, I would board the train and ride to Tientsin, and as soon as I got off at Tientsin, I had to go to the police in the police station and register that I had gotten off this train and where I was going to live and show him my permit.

Then I would go over to my friend's house, generally a priest who was our representative in Tientsin, and within 24 hours after arriving at his house, I would be obliged to go to the local police and there again register, giving my name, my place of residence in Peking, where I was living in Tientsin, and show them my permit.

When I wanted to return, I would have to go back to the local police and tell them I was leaving Tientsin and give the details of my departure.

But I went to the police station. I would have to register at the police station and get on the train, and then when I got off the train in Peking, I would have to report to the policeman there and give him my permit and tell him, "I am so-and-so; I am back."

Mr. MORRIS. So someone such as Mr. Hinton—

Father RIGNEY. All foreigners, you see, were subject to these procedures.

Mr. MORRIS. So someone such as Mr. Hinton, who had freedom of movement throughout occupied China, and at the same time taught in one of their schools, would be someone who would pretty much be on the side of the Communists, would you not say?

Father RIGNEY. Oh, yes, if he taught in a school.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did you return to the United States?

Father RIGNEY. I landed at the United States at New York on March 15, 1956. I returned to the United States by way of Europe.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you hope to go back some day to China?

Father RIGNEY. I would be very glad to go back to a free, liberated China, because I love the Chinese very much, and I love them now more than ever. They are a very noble and hard-working and industrious people.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have no more questions of this witness.

Senator WATKINS. Father Rigney, we greatly appreciate your appearance here. It was a very enlightening statement you have made to us. We thank you for appearing.

Father RIGNEY. I am very glad to be here, Senator.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Watkins, we have witnesses subpoenaed for tomorrow morning bearing on Soviet activity in connection with the five seamen who have been repatriated, or redefected back to the Soviet Union.

So the next scheduled meeting is tomorrow morning at 10:30, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. The committee will be in recess.

(Whereupon, at 11:30 a. m., the subcommittee recessed to reconvene at 10:30 a. m., Friday, April 20, 1956.)

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1956

UNITED STATES SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL
SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess at 11 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Herman Welker, presiding.

Present: Senators Welker and Jenner.

Also present: Robert Morris, Chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and William A. Rusher, administrative counsel.

Senator WELKER. The committee will come to order.

Will you rise and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I so swear.

TESTIMONY OF JAN S. F. VAN HOOGSTATEN, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR IMMIGRATION SERVICES, CHURCH WORLD SERVICE

Senator WELKER. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Jan Van Hoogstraten.

Senator WELKER. And where do you reside?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I reside in the township of Bronxville.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your occupation?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I am assistant director of the immigration services of the National Council of Churches, the Church World Service.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, this hearing this morning is being held in connection with the series of hearings now being conducted by the subcommittee into the nature and scope of Soviet activity within the United States. There are certain facts that came to the attention of the subcommittee which indicated there are activities of an unusual nature being undertaken by the Soviet officials here in the United States, and they are being examined for that purpose.

Senator WELKER. Very well, counsel. The chairman is very mindful of the reason for this hearing, so you will proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Van Hoogstraten, will you give us a brief sketch of the circumstances surrounding the arrival of certain Soviet seamen into the United States?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I will be very glad to do that, Judge Morris. We heard about the existence of a certain number of sailors

who had stayed behind after the Soviet Russian oil boat, the *Truapse*, was confiscated by Mr. Chiang Kai-shek's forces.

The United States escapee program, now under the Department of State, heard also about this, and through the efforts of the United States escapee program, these fellows, nine of the fellows on Formosa, were brought here. A representative of the World Council of Churches, Church World Service, brought these fellows in a plane, if I am not mistaken, on the 21st of October 1955, to this country.

Our organization was asked to look after the general welfare, in the broadest sense of the word, of these nine boys.

The boys were paroled into this country and they had to register with the Government a certain amount of times each month, in the beginning.

Well, then, through cooperation with the United States escapee program in this country, funds were made available by which we could really look after the welfare of these nine boys, and within the limitations of these funds, I think the Church World Service can only say that we did have enough funds available to see to it that these fellows were happy and did not lack any daily needs of life.

We looked for jobs for them. We were not always successful to get the exact employment they perhaps desired, but then that is not an unusual scene if one deals with refugees.

Of course, as far as we are concerned, these nine fellows were receiving the same treatment from our organization as we usually give to the others, with one exception, and that is that we fully realized that we were here dealing with a group of fellows who were somewhat more unusual than the rank and file displaced person or refugee arriving in this country.

Mr. MORRIS. Why were they more unusual, Mr. Van Hoogstraten?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTRA滕. They were more unusual in that we realized that these fellows had not seen the West very long. You know that usually refugees come to this country after they have spent a considerable period of time in a camp, or as free livers in one of the western nations.

These fellows came from a ship and they had spent about a year, I think, in Formosa, but one cannot exactly call that a western country.

Judge Morris, is that sufficient background?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, that is sufficient, Mr. Van Hoogstraten.

Now, I wonder if you would tell us how many of these boys were directly in your care.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTRA滕. All nine, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. All nine.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTRA滕. And as time went by, some of the boys went over to the care of the Government agency.

Mr. MORRIS. Since October 21, 1955?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTRA滕. Yes, sir. Then all nine were in our care. As time went on, some of them went over into the care of a Government agency and, of course, our arrangement was that the moment they go over into the care of a Government agency, we have nothing to do with them any more.

Mr. MORRIS. How many of them so went over?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTRA滕. Excuse me?

Mr. MORRIS. How many of them so went over to a Government agency?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Three went over and six were left. Out of those 6, 5 went back.

Mr. MORRIS. Five went back to the Soviet Union?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Yes. And the one who did not go back——

Mr. MORRIS. Is here today?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, will you tell us what were some of the recent developments that led up to the departure of these five seamen to the Soviet Union?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I have tried to give you what I know about it.

Mr. MORRIS. May I have that magazine, please?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. This one?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

I thought you had the one with the listing of the other people in it.

Go right ahead.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. May I start on Monday, April the 2d, which was the Monday preceding the Saturday they left. On Monday afternoon——

Senator WELKER. Let us get the dates, please.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Yes, sir. It is Monday, April 2d. This is the moment I would like to start.

On that day, sir, at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, 3 of the boys who went back, Mr. Shirin, Mr. Shishin, and Mr. Loukashkov——

Mr. MORRIS. That is Shirin, S-h-i-r-i-n?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Shishin, S-h-i-s-h-i-n?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Loukashkov, L-u-k-a-s-h-k-o-v?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. L-o-u-k-a-s-h-k-o-v.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Proceed.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. The reason why these three fellows came to our office was that we might hand them over a certain amount of money which they needed for their general upkeep in the next few weeks, because they were going to leave that week the course which they followed at Columbia University, a language course, and they had obtained jobs in the meantime, and we realized that these jobs would not give, immediately, pay; so we wanted to be sure that they had enough in their pockets.

They also came to discuss future employment with us. We had a short conversation about the weather and at that point one of the boys, I do not remember who it was, asked me what I thought about the Stalin change in the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. One of the seamen asked you?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Which one was that, do you recall?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I cannot recall that, sir.

At that point I said to this same man, "Don't you think it would be nice that you answer me the question, rather than I?"

I think it was Mr. Shirin, but I do not recall it for sure. He answered me that, "Faces may change but Siberia remains Siberia." That was his feeling that Monday afternoon. That was the last time I saw those three fellows, until I saw them again on the airfield on Saturday.

Senator WELKER. Saturday, what date, sir?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. That was April the 6th, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Proceed.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Excuse me. That was April 7.

Senator WELKER. April 7.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I then come to the Friday afternoon, that was April the 6th, when, at 3 o'clock, Mr. Solovyev came to my office. Mr. Solovyev's name is spelled S-o-l-o-v-y-e-v.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Solovyev, S-o-l-o-v-y-e-v.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Thank you.

He was somewhat distressed about something which I did not know. I told my assistant that he should talk to him for a moment while I would arrange his financial details about which, also, he had come to the office. Also, he was going to have an appointment with his nose doctor, as he had just had an operation.

As my assistant was talking to Mr. Solovyev, the telephone rang and there was a call for me from one of the Government agencies telling me that they had heard that something was, as it was stated to me, quote, "cooking," unquote, with regard to these fellows. I combined with the rather unusual behavior of Mr. Solovyev, and I requested this Government man to come to our office and to Mr. Solovyev.

I stress, at this point, that it was my understanding as I took care of those fellows, that anything unusual outside the normal scope of general welfare should not be dealt with by us. We are not equipped; we are not an organization which should do that. We should report on this to this particular gentleman who was the representative of some Government agency. And I did that. And I cannot but here say that the relationships with that particular gentleman were always very cordial, and I think rather efficient.

He then proceeded to come to our office while we told Mr. Solovyev that this man would come, that Mr. Solovyev knew him, and that he should wait a moment, and then we could talk again.

However, in the meantime, Mr. Solovyev had already divulged to my assistant that one of the reasons why he did not feel so happy that day was that he knew, had knowledge, that an undisclosed number of sailors out of the nine were planning to go back, and that he himself was under some coercion, some pressure, that he should do the same.

Well, sir, at that point, I felt that what we had done by notifying the Government representative that he was in our office and that he should take him over was the correct one, and I did not at that time feel that we should talk about details with Mr. Solovyev, and therefore, no questions were asked at that point of Mr. Solovyev. I asked him if he knew who were going back, and I think he answered me that he knew of 2 boys for sure. That is my impression. I don't remember exactly.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know which two?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I think that Mr. Solovyev at that point told me that Mr. Shishin and Mr. Shirin were going back.

When I asked him when, I think he answered me—if I am correct in that—"tomorrow."

Mr. MORRIS. That was April 6?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. That was Friday afternoon, about 3:30.

Mr. MORRIS. On April 6?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Yes, sir. I asked the Government representative who called me to call me back if he knew any further details as to their actual leaving. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon I stayed in my office, and I got a telephone call from the same gentleman who said that he had ascertained that the boys were going to leave on flight 902, Scandinavian Airlines, 4 p. m., from Idlewild, on Saturday, April 7, which was the next day.

At that point, I told him that, although I could not 100 percent talk for my organization, since nobody was there any more at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, I wanted to go on record to him that I, or anybody else from my organization, wanted to be given the opportunity to talk to these fellows on the airport, since he told me that very probably the fellows who were going back were not any more available to be talked to, that they were already in the hands of the Soviets, and probably at Park Avenue, New York, which is the seat of the United Nations Mission, the U. S. S. R. Mission to the United Nations.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Van Hoogstraten, under the circumstances, these men would require exit visas, would they not?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. It is my understanding, Judge Morris, that they do not require exit permits. There is no such thing in this country, to my understanding, that we could call an exit permit. However, there is a sailing permit for aliens, which is completely a tax department affair, and has nothing to do with the Immigration Service.

This is my understanding, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I understand.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I then got an answer on the telephone conversation with this Government representative that it was perfectly all right for me to be there; he expected me to be there, and he asked me to be there at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of April 7.

Senator WELKER. That is 1 hour before departure time?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Yes. He told me then that he was going to be there at 2 o'clock. But it was not very likely that the fellows would arrive there much earlier than 3 o'clock, so he felt that 3 o'clock would be sufficient time.

Mr. MORRIS. Just one point. Did Mr. Solovyev indicate where they were, in the hands of the Soviet authorities; where these seamen were who were going back?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. He did not indicate that to me at that time, nor did I ask him. My position at that point was that the thing was much more important than for us to deal with, that that was for the Government representative who was going to meet Mr. Solovyev to ask.

In my home Saturday morning, April 7, at about 10:15, I got a telephone call from the same Government representative I had talked

with before. He told me this: "Mr. Van Hoogstraten, it is not necessary for you to be at the airport this afternoon."

My answer to that was, "Have they left already?"

He replied, "No, they have not left. They are leaving on that plane, but it is not necessary for you to be there."

"Are you going to be there?" I asked him.

He said, "No, I am not going to be there, either."

My answer to that was—my next question was: "Have bigger people than we taken this thing into hand, in their hands?"

And his answer was something like: "I guess so."

I said, "Well, that gives me, then, a free afternoon, and I don't have to go to the airport."

And I put the telephone down and I said at the same moment to my wife, "Let's get the car out and see if the thing works, and I am going to the airport this afternoon."

I also, sir, want to stress here that on Friday afternoon, in the previous telephone conversation with this gentlemen, I was specifically told that this information about the leaving of the plane, the hour the plane would leave with this unspecified number of people, was not to be divulged by anybody.

I violated this promise in one respect, and that is that I did notify the representative of the United States escapee program here in Washington, Mr. Glazier, who was told by me that I was not supposed to tell this, but, since I was working on those cases in very close touch with the escapee program, I felt that they should know this.

The other person who knew about this was my assistant. After the telephone conversation on Saturday morning, in which I was told that it was not necessary for me to come to the airport, I did call him up and he accompanied me to the airport and we arrived there at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, about 10 minutes past 3. At 20 minutes past 3, if I am correct, the boys came in, surrounded by a large number of what seemed to me obviously Soviet representatives.

MR. MORRIS. How many of them were there, of these Soviet representatives?

MR. VAN HOOGSTRA滕. I did attempt to count them. I came to about 19, but, of course, there might very well have been a few more.

MR. MORRIS. You say there were at least 19?

MR. VAN HOOGSTRA滕. I think there would be at least 19. I also—we stood around there for a while. We looked at them. There was no sign of recognition, much. We didn't attempt to talk to them, because I think it would have been rather unfeasible at that moment. They were kept talked to constantly by the Soviet representatives, whoever they may have been.

Somewhat later, one of the Soviet representatives came over to me and said to me, "Fancy to see you here, Mr. Van Hoogstraten." I don't know where he got my name. And he also talked briefly to my assistant and then said—that was the first time I had heard that the boys had been taken away into the customs area, or rather into the immigration area—you can't get there but going through customs—and this representative, this Soviet man, said to me, "Are you not invited to the little party?"

And I said, I didn't know there was a social party going on.

And he said, "Well, the immigration is talking to these gentlemen, and maybe"—no. He said this to me, "Are you not going to talk to them?"

And I said that I didn't know anything about it.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, who was this man?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I don't know this man. Of course, I could identify him from pictures.

Mr. MORRIS. Where had you seen him before?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Well, I had seen him before in an immigration course which is given at New York University, and I attend this course since, I think, some time in October, and he had been there several times in my class.

Mr. MORRIS. He was a fellow student of yours: is that right?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Well, you might call him that; yes, sir.

I did not——

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know him by any name at all at New York University?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. He was just a fellow student, and that is all you know about him?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Yes. And I was under the impression that he belonged to one of the voluntary agencies in town dealing with—I knew he was a foreigner because he had an accent, but I did not know who he was and I had not the slightest idea of his connections. But it was quite clear to me that afternoon; and my assistant, who also is in the same class, was as greatly surprised as I was at the sight of this man there.

He knew who we were; we did not know who he was.

I think that, at this point, not very much more exciting happened. The time came of departure. I noticed that the door to gate No. 10, where the people have to go through to the plane, was being closed, and since I was afraid that perhaps they could reach the plane from the immigration area via another door, I went up to the platform, still hoping that nothing would happen to them. I did ask the photographer, who sometimes takes pictures for us when refugees arrive, to make pictures for us if something would happen.

The photographer asked if he should also take pictures of the people of the Soviet group waiting in the corridor, and I said "No," and the reason I said "no" was that I felt that, at that moment, the Government had this thing in hand and I didn't want to do anything which possibly could embarrass the activities of the Government at that moment.

Besides that. I don't think that I was authorized to spend agency funds just to take pictures at random.

Also, sir, it was my impression that other Government representatives of the United States Government were present in the halls there, and that they were looking around and that they knew what was going on. That was my firm impression. I don't know if this is correct, but I think that there were other people present in the halls, who knew what was happening, who did not belong to the Soviet delegation to the United Nations.

So the photographers I had were asked to take pictures in case they would board the plane. That is what they did, and they took pictures, and I have given them to counsel. I think that they are here on the table. Then the fellows came out; two pictures were taken, and quite in a rush they came up to the door of the plane. They were not pushed or shoved into the plane. I want to make that clear. There was a big rush, though. It was raining and very windy, and I stood on the observation platform with my assistant, on each side flanked by a man who later turned out to belong to this same Soviet group.

They entered the plane, and——

MR. MORRIS. Now, were the same 19 or more Soviet people present all this time?

MR. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Yes. I was——

MR. MORRIS. Right out by the plane?

MR. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Yes. I was told by the Scandinavian Airlines System that I could not go beyond that door, and I didn't. I didn't attempt to go beyond that door. I went to the observation platform.

Every single one. I would say, except for the two of us standing with me on the observation platform, if you see this picture here—I think that you will find there a large number of individuals standing near that plane, and they came through that gate, and they were apparently allowed to come close to this plane, which we were not. And the door of the plane closed. The main organizer on the field, the fellow who was there with me in the class——

MR. MORRIS. You say he was the organizer of this group?

MR. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I would say that the man whom I knew from my class was the man who was in charge of the 20 or 25—I don't know how many; I can't call them "gentlemen," but I think I will call them "thugs"—were present on that field.

When the door closed, the man turned around and looked at me standing up there and made some kind of sign as if, "things are now safe."

MR. MORRIS. Safe from his point?

MR. VAN HOOGSTATEN. From his point of view.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Witness, I think you testified that you do not know the identity of this man who was in charge of the plane reservations of these boys leaving, but you could identify him from pictures?

MR. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Sir, I don't know if he was in charge of the plane reservations, but I do know that he was in charge—it looked as if he was in charge of the 20 to 25 men on the field. I have not been able to identify him because I was not given those pictures to look at.

Senator WELKER. At this time, the acting chairman, along with Senator Jenner, will order and direct you to use every effort you can to ascertain the true identity of the man you testified about, and we will ask all governmental agencies to assist you in that task.

MR. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Thank you, sir.

Senator WELKER. Proceed, Counsel.

MR. MORRIS. Then what happened, Mr. Van Hoogstraten?

MR. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Well, sir——

MR. MORRIS. The plane took off?

MR. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I didn't see the plane take off, but I heard it took off. I went home, and on Sunday morning—you can imagine

I thought about this quite a bit during that night—I felt that I was no longer under any obligation to not talk about this. It came somewhat late, but I did then call up the assistant to General Donovan, who, as you know, has just made a report on the whole redefection program for the International Rescue Committee, and I called Mr. Saltzmann and I told him this, after I had obtained his telephone number from another person who is interested in this problem, Mr. Epstein, who knew the number of Saltzmann. I then talked it over with Mr. Saltzmann, and if I may say so, the ball started rolling.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Van Hoogstraten, do you think that anything was left undone that should have been done to prevent something that may have damaged the prestige of the United States, from your experience on this program?

Mr. VAN HOOGST RATEN. Sir, I was convinced up to the moment that the boys were in the immigration area at the airport, that this thing was in the hands of the Government, and safely so. I simply could not believe that the same Government who deliberated 8 months or 7 months to admit these people could decide in 5 times 5 minutes to let them go.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you have no other facts, have you, Mr. Van Hoogstraten, that you think the committee should have at this time?

Senator, in order to determine whether or not there was any duress or coercion, as has been contended by the report referred to by Mr. Van Hoogstraten, we have asked one of these seamen who did not return to testify here this morning.

In that connection, Mr. Van Hoogstraten has presented to me on behalf of his organization, signed by Roland Elliott, Director of Immigration Services, a letter.

I wonder if you would read that letter for the record, please, Mr. Van Hoogstraten.

You want that put in the record, do you not?

Mr. VAN HOOGST RATEN. I would like to, yes.

This letter is dated April 19, 1956, and directed to Senator James O. Eastland, chairman of the Internal Security Subcommittee, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: We are glad to authorize Mr. Jan S. F. Van Hoogstraten, assistant director for migration services of Church World Services, a central department of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States, to testify before your committee on any questions of fact which have come under his observation in connection with his official duties on behalf of this office in relation to the nine Soviet seamen admitted by special order to the United States in October 1955. We commend Mr. Van Hoogstraten to you as a trusted, experienced, and competent staff member.

Mr. MORRIS. You will have to read it all, Mr. Van Hoogstraten.

Mr. VAN HOOGST RATEN (continuing):

Church World Service did not sponsor the entry of these Soviet seamen to the United States, but was requested by the United States escapee program to render such nonpolitical resettlement services to these young men as are normal and appropriate for our agency to render on behalf of Protestant and Eastern Orthodox Churches in the United States. These services began on the arrival of these men at Idlewild Airport on October 21, 1955, and continued until 5 of the men left for the Soviet Union on April 7, 1956; they continue now for the 4 seamen who remain in the United States.

Mr. Van Hoogstraten has been authorized to answer any question of fact your committee may ask, on which he has data or judgment; he is not authorized to represent this agency on any questions of Government policy or procedure.

Mr. Van Hoogstraten is further authorized to bring one of the remaining seamen to Washington for testimony to your committee, and to accompany him on his return to his home.

It is our understanding and strong judgment that his appearance before your committee will be in the executive session so as to receive his testimony under the most encouraging circumstances and so we will not feel exposed to the hazards attendant upon publicity.

Sincerely yours,

ROLAND ELLIOTT,
Director, Immigration Services.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Van Hoogstraten, in executive session we took up the matter of the letter just presented, and it was the decision of the acting chairman that this matter be made in full public disclosure to those that we represent: namely, the American people. Since this matter has been publicized widely all over the Nation by a leading news magazine, the committee felt we would be derelict in our duty not to bring this out in the wide-open daylight and once and for all show to the American people what the Soviets and the Soviet conspirators can do right here at home.

So it has been the order of the acting chairman, based upon the views of other members of the subcommittee, that this matter be brought out in public testimony here today.

Mr. VAN HOOGST RATEN. Thank you.

Senator WELKER. Now I will ask merely one question.

Mr. Van Hoogstraten, from your view of these boys who, in my opinion, were being sent away, did they appear to you to be very happy that they were leaving, or did you get an observation that close?

Mr. VAN HOOGST RATEN. I find it extremely difficult to answer this question, because if one looks at the pictures, you see two boys in the pictures and they are both smiling. Yet, sir, knowing these boys since October 1955, in, if not daily, then certainly weekly contacts, they did not look happy to me at all. They never gave me any sign of recognition. They made the impression as if they wanted to protect us from any embarrassment, and therefore, looked the other way, I am inclined to think.

Senator WELKER. That is all I have.

Senator JENNER. May I ask a question?

Senator WELKER. Senator Jenner.

Senator JENNER. Did you know the United Nations representative that was there?

Mr. VAN HOOGST RATEN. I had seen pictures of the United Nations representative of the Soviet Union.

You refer to Mr. Sobolev?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. VAN HOOGST RATEN. I had not recognized in the group who was there, nor do I have any firsthand knowledge that he was there.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that there were any U. N. representatives there?

Mr. VAN HOOGST RATEN. No, sir. But since the party drove diplomatic-licensed cars, it was my understanding—

Mr. MORRIS. You do know they drove cars with diplomatic license tags?

Mr. VAN HOOGST RATEN. That I did not know that day, but I discovered that last Sunday when I was on the airport again, for personal reasons, and the first one I saw, when I entered into the hall there, was the same Soviet gentleman whom I had seen there 8 days previously.

MR. MORRIS. Was this your fellow student?

MR. VAN HOOGSTRAZEN. Yes, sir. We see each other, apparently, twice a week.

This same gentleman then said, "hello" to me, in a jovial way, and I looked at the car he stepped into 4 minutes later, and that was a diplomatic-licensed Buick.

MR. MORRIS. You do not know what he was doing at the airport the following Sunday; do you?

MR. VAN HOOGSTRAZEN. I didn't ask him, sir; no. And it is my understanding that the United Nations mission of the Soviet Union is driving diplomatic cars, whereas the consulate uses different license plates.

MR. MORRIS. I have no more questions.

SENATOR WELKER. Senator Jenner?

SENATOR JENNER. I have nothing further.

SENATOR WELKER. Thank you very much for your testimony.

MR. MORRIS. Will you stand by while the next witness testifies, Mr. Van Hoogstraten?

SENATOR WELKER. You mean, to interpret?

MR. MORRIS. Will you stand by while he testifies in the event you may have to testify?

MR. VAN HOOGSTRAZEN. Certainly.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Solovyev, will you come forward, please?

MR. CHAIRMAN. Mr. Solovyev is accompanied here by a young lady who will do the translating.

SENATOR WELKER. Very well. Will the interpreter rise and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that you will truthfully take down, by mental note thereof, the questions propounded to you in English and impart that question to the witness in the Russian language, and then give to the committee back the truthful English interpretation of the Russian answers, so help you God?

MISS VON MEYER. I do.

SENATOR WELKER. Now, if the witness will please raise your right hand and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

THE INTERPRETER. He swears.

TESTIMONY OF VIKTOR SOLOVYEV, AS INTERPRETED BY NATALIE VON MEYER

MR. MORRIS. Miss Von Meyer, I wonder if you will give your name and address to the reporter.

THE INTERPRETER. My name is Natalie Von Meyer. And I live at 3000 Thirty-ninth Street NW., Washington.

MR. MORRIS. Thank you very much. Will you ask the witness to give his name to the reporter?

MR. SOLOVYEV. Viktor Solovyev.

THE INTERPRETER. Viktor Solovyev.

MR. MORRIS. Will you spell "Solovyev"?

MR. SOLOVYEV. S-o-l-o-v-y-e-v.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Will you tell the committee where you were born?

The INTERPRETER. It is a long story, he says.

Mr. MORRIS. Just where he was born.

The INTERPRETER. Kalinin.

Mr. MORRIS. How old are you?

The INTERPRETER. Twenty.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did you defect from the Soviet Government?

The INTERPRETER. He has to remember.

Mr. MORRIS. Approximately.

Senator WELKER. Just a moment, counsel. May I ask you, Madam Interpreter, that you keep your voice high so that the reporters can hear?

The INTERPRETER. I will try.

Senator WELKER. I do not think it would do very much good to ask the witness to keep his voice high, but as long as you hear him and speak out loud into the microphone, please—

Mr. MORRIS. In a loud, clear voice.

The INTERPRETER. I will.

It was approximately in November 1954.

Mr. MORRIS. November 1954.

The INTERPRETER. Approximately.

Mr. MORRIS. And where did this defection take place?

The INTERPRETER. In China.

Mr. MORRIS. In China. Is that on the mainland of China?

The INTERPRETER. It was on the mainland.

It was on Formosa, of course.

Senator WELKER. Keep your voice up.

The INTERPRETER. It was on Formosa.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, had you been a seaman?

The INTERPRETER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the name of your ship?

The INTERPRETER. Tuapse.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. T-u-z—

The INTERPRETER. T-u-a—he is not sure. He will write it. Can he have a pen?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. (Spelling) T-u-a-p-c-e.

Mr. MORRIS. T-u-a-p—

The INTERPRETER. T-u-a-p-c-e.

He doesn't know how to spell it in English. (Tuapse.)

Senator WELKER. Very well. May I ask you this question? What were you doing near China?

Mr. MORRIS. What was the ship doing?

The INTERPRETER. They were going to China bringing a load to Red China.

Mr. MORRIS. What were they bringing to Red China?

The INTERPRETER. Gasoline, which, after working over it, could be used for jet planes.

Yes, he is sure of it.

Senator WELKER. And where was he intercepted, the boat and crew? Where were they intercepted?

The INTERPRETER. At 4 a. m., they were passing near Formosa when two National Chinese patrol boats intercepted them, and they were taken to the port of Kusu (?), as he pronounces it.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you speak up just a little bit?

The INTERPRETER. He doesn't know how it is spelled, but it is Kusung(?).

Senator WELKER. Now, if you will keep your voice up, please, Madam Interpreter, high, so that we can all hear, then we can follow you.

After going to the Formosan territory, what happened then?

The INTERPRETER. They spent one week in the port and then they were taken ashore.

Mr. MORRIS. They spent one week in port and then they were taken ashore by the Chinese Government authorities?

The INTERPRETER. The Chinese Government.

They first lived in groups. They were divided into three groups, and—

Mr. MORRIS. How many were there?

The INTERPRETER. There were 49 initially.

Mr. MORRIS. Forty-nine?

The INTERPRETER. Forty-nine. They were divided into three groups. Then they were divided again and lived in hotels. Then they were asked whether they wanted to go back or go to the United States. Twenty-nine decided to return, and the others asked to stay.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you say, whether to go to the United States or—

The INTERPRETER. Or return to the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. Or to return to the Soviet Union. Twenty-nine elected to go back to the Soviet Union?

The INTERPRETER. Twenty-nine.

Mr. MORRIS. Twenty elected to stay on Formosa and ultimately to go to the United States?

The INTERPRETER. Nobody wanted to stay on Formosa. The 20 who decided to stay wanted to go to the United States from China.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. And you were among the 20 who elected to go to the United States?

The INTERPRETER. Yes, he was one of them.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, did that division remain the same, 29 returning to the Soviet Union; 20 staying on the island of Formosa?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Yes.

The INTERPRETER. Twenty-nine chose to return; 20 stayed. Nine of them came to the United States and 4 want to come now.

Mr. MORRIS. Four want to come now. That would account for 13. What about the other 7?

The INTERPRETER. He doesn't know what they are doing.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. But to the best of his knowledge, all the other 11 are now on the island of Formosa where the Chinese Government is?

The INTERPRETER. He thinks they are.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. And when did you come to the United States? Was it October 1955?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Twenty-two.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. No; 21.

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Twenty-one.

Mr. MORRIS. October 21, 1955?

The INTERPRETER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when you first came to the United States, did anyone help you here?

The INTERPRETER. The Church World Service helps him.

Mr. MORRIS. Did they help you get a job?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Yes.

The INTERPRETER. Yes; they did.

Mr. MORRIS. Did they try to bring you into the well-being, into the feeling of the country?

The INTERPRETER. Yes; they did.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. They did everything possible to make him a person who ultimately would become a United States citizen?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you come to like the United States?

The INTERPRETER. He personally liked it.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he become well adjusted to the United States?

The INTERPRETER. Not quite, yet.

Mr. MORRIS. Not quite. What were some of the difficulties he experienced?

The INTERPRETER. He cannot get accustomed to all American customs, yet.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, did he earn enough money to live here?

The INTERPRETER. Yes; he earned enough.

Mr. MORRIS. And he has a job now?

The INTERPRETER. Yes, he does.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, to your knowledge did the other 9 seamen, or the other 8 seamen, begin their adjustment to living in the United States?

The INTERPRETER. Yes; they began.

He didn't talk to them in detail about this, but he judges by his own experience, and he thinks that if he started to get adjusted, that they might start it as well.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he see these other men regularly?

The INTERPRETER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And to his knowledge, was there any disaffection?

The INTERPRETER. He cannot say anything. He doesn't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did you first hear that Communists, as you described it in executive session, or representatives of the Soviet Union, first came into your life in the United States?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. December.

The INTERPRETER. He says it was on Thursday, but I am trying to find out what Thursday it is.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. May I say something?

Senator WELKER. Will you ask the witness?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I understand your question to be when he was at the first time approached by anyone. Is that correct?

Mr. MORRIS. That is correct; when did anyone—

(The interpreter spoke to the witness in Russian.)

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. I think he does not understand the question.

Mr. SOLOVYEV. No. I understand the question.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. You remember that last year, which was, I think, December, was it not?

It does not have to be the exact date.

The INTERPRETER. I am trying to make him understand.

He says it was through Shishin, the day when Shishin first went to the Soviet Embassy, as the witness says, which was the Park Avenue building.

Mr. MORRIS. Just a minute now—

Senator WELKER. That was in December of 1955?

Just a minute. May I break in here? Mr. Van Hoogstraten said that something took place in December. What was it that took place in December?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Last winter. They had been at the ball.

Mr. MORRIS. Last winter they had been at a ball?

The INTERPRETER. At a ball, at a dance. It was a ball of the people of Russia, and there they were handed letters by Soviet agents.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about that?

The INTERPRETER. He did not receive any letters, so he doesn't know anything about the letters. But it was Shishin and Ryabenko who received letters at that time.

Senator WELKER. Now, Shishin had left a wife over in Russia; is that correct?

The INTERPRETER. Yes; he had left a wife in Russia.

Senator WELKER. Do you have any information that will help the committee as to whether or not the Communists used the blackmail of threatening Shishin's wife if he did not defect and go back to Russia?

The INTERPRETER. No; he doesn't know.

Senator WELKER. Now, I want to ask you, Mr. Witness, this: How often did you see your comrades here that you came with?

The INTERPRETER. Once a week, perhaps. Three of them who were settling in New York; Shishin, Shirin, and Loukashkov were the three. The others he hasn't seen for 3 months, approximately.

Senator WELKER. Now, those that you saw, did you have any indication whatsoever that they were dissatisfied here or that they might be shipped out back to Russia?

The INTERPRETER. He wouldn't say so.

Senator WELKER. He would say "No"?

The INTERPRETER. He would say "No."

Senator WELKER. Very well. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. You say at this ball, Ryabenko and Shishin received letters?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Yes.

The INTERPRETER. Yes, they did, and they also received photographs. The photographs were those of the captain of their ship at his arrival in Russia.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, were these letters given to Shishin and Ryabenko?

The INTERPRETER. The letters were not given to them personally but to a friend of theirs, another Russian young man, who gave it to them.

Mr. MORRIS. And what did the letters say?

The INTERPRETER. He doesn't know.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, when did he first experience any contacts with Soviet representatives?

The INTERPRETER. The first time he was contacted by Soviet agents was on Wednesday, 2 weeks ago.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that April 5?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTRAATEN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Today is the 20th.

(Mr. Van Hoogstraten handed the witness a diary.)

The INTERPRETER. Yes. And this was the day the witness first went to the Embassy.

Mr. MORRIS. The Embassy or the residence of the delegation?

The INTERPRETER. This was the building on Park Avenue, the residence.

Mr. MORRIS. That was the residence of the chief of the Russian delegation to the United Nations?

The INTERPRETER. Yes. This is where Sobolev lives.

Mr. MORRIS. Sobolev. And Sobolev is what, the chief delegate?

The INTERPRETER. He is not sure of his exact title.

On this day, when Shishin first went to that building, the witness was contacted by Soviet agents who had apparently gotten his address from Shishin.

Senator WELKER. The first day that Shishin attended the residence of the U. N. delegate, Sobolev, for some reason the address of the witness was given to this Soviet agent; is that correct?

The INTERPRETER. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. In what State were you living then?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Hotel George Washington, New York.

The INTERPRETER. He lived at the Hotel Washington in New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. And then what happened? Did someone call him or visit him there?

The INTERPRETER. He was sleeping. He was lying on his bed, and then somebody knocked at his door. He called—he asked the person to come in and then lay back on his bed.

Mr. MORRIS. Just a minute. Mr. Van Hoogstraten.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTRAATEN. If you will allow me to say something, I think it is not quite clear why, if he was working, he was suddenly in a hotel in New York. I think it has not been made clear that he had just had an operation and he was recovering from his operation, and since he had to go to the doctor repeatedly, he was taken care of in a hotel which was close to our office. That is the reason he was in a hotel.

Senator WELKER. Thank you very much, Mr. Van Hoogstraten.

The INTERPRETER. Two persons came in and asked the witness whether he knew who they were. He said that he presumed they were from the FBI. They said, "no," they were Communists, and showed him a little booklet in which they had identification, Soviet identification.

Mr. MORRIS. They had Soviet identifications?

The INTERPRETER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. This was the George Washington Hotel in New York City?

The INTERPRETER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What did they say to you and what did you say to them?

Senator WELKER. Just a moment. What time of the night was this?

The INTERPRETER. It was around 1:30 p. m.

Mr. MORRIS. That is in the afternoon?

The INTERPRETER. In the afternoon.

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Yes.

Senator WELKER. In the afternoon?

The INTERPRETER. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Now, go right ahead. After you were asked whether you knew who they were, you responded that you assumed they were members of the FBI. They identified themselves as being Communists by documents in their possession.

Now, tell what next happened.

The INTERPRETER. They first gave him two letters and a photograph.

He took the letters and put them away on the bed and they asked the witness why he didn't read the letters immediately.

He said he could read the letters later, and if they came to talk to him, he could talk to them now and read them later.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you call them by name? Did you address them by name?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Oh, no.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not know what their names were?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. No.

Mr. MORRIS. And you do not know precisely what their identification cards were other than the fact that they were Soviets; is that right?

The INTERPRETER. He just saw that there was a picture and something was written, but he didn't read what it was on the identification.

He believed them.

Senator WELKER. Then what next was said by them and what did you say to them?

The INTERPRETER. They asked the witness whether he knew that Shishin had already gone to the building on Park Avenue. He said that he knew.

They asked him about his opinion of this, and he said that there was nothing interesting in it.

They said that, if he didn't believe them, he could go with them to the Park Avenue Building and talk to Sobolev, who was there at the same time, and if he didn't like it there he could return.

Senator WELKER. And what did you reply to that?

The INTERPRETER. He said that they must know who he is, a political criminal, a so-called enemy of the people. He said that he was young; he was just 20 years old. If I were 40 years old, he said, I would return to Russia and sit another 20 years in prison, but I am young and I like it here and I would like to stay.

He said that he did not betray his mother; he liked his mother, but if he returned, it wouldn't do him any good, because he wouldn't see her, anyway. He said that he was not a betrayer of his people because he loved his people maybe even more than the American people, but that he didn't want to return.

Senator WELKER. Now, what were the pictures handed to the witness by these two agents of the Communists?

The INTERPRETER. They gave him two pictures of his mother and then pictures of some girls he had known in Russia and a picture of his aunt.

Senator WELKER. And a picture of his aunt?

The INTERPRETER. Of his aunt, yes.

Senator WELKER. And to summarize this portion of the testimony, this young man was in his room, and these 2 agents of the Communists came in, handed him 2 letters, and pictures of his own mother, 2 pictures of his mother, 1 of some girl friends or several girl friends and 1 of an aunt, who were in Russia at this time?

The INTERPRETER. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. And you understood, did you not, why they handed you the pictures?

The INTERPRETER. It was clear to him from the beginning what the aims were. He read the letter written by his mother. He said that his mother only studied 1 year in school, and the letters he had previously received from her were written just as a mother would write to her son in simple language. This letter he received in New York had political expressions in it. There was something said about repression in the family, words that he doesn't think his mother would use.

Mr. MORRIS. Repressions?

The INTERPRETER. Repressions, which is actually——

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Reprisal.

The INTERPRETER. "Reprisal" would be the exact word.

Mr. MORRIS. Check with him again on the precise word.

The INTERPRETER. In Russian it is "repressia" which is "reprisal."

Senator WELKER. I understand that. Very well. And he noted from that——

The INTERPRETER. The address on the letter which said, "Tuapse," and "victor," was not written by his mother, but the letter inside was in her handwriting, was written by her.

Mr. MORRIS. You say the letter itself was in her handwriting, but the envelope with the address was not?

The INTERPRETER. The handwriting was hers.

But the context of the letter was such that he doesn't believe his mother wrote it.

Mr. MORRIS. Does he still have the letter?

The INTERPRETER. He burned the letter, but the photographs he has.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Can he make those available to the committee?

The INTERPRETER. Under the condition that the photograph would be returned to him.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. And we will look at them in executive session.

The INTERPRETER. Good.

(The following was inserted by the interpreter at the end of the session:)

The witness said that his mother didn't know where he was, and addressed his letters simply "Tuapse" and then his name.

Senator WELKER. After this first visit by the two agents, what then next happened?

The INTERPRETER. He says he didn't want to do anything with them, and then left the house and went to eat and from there went to the International Student House where the other sailors lived. He found—now—excuse me.

Senator WELKER. Go right ahead.

The INTERPRETER. He found Loukashkov there.

Senator WELKER. He found Loukashkov?

The INTERPRETER. And Loukashkov told the witness that he had had the same experience as the witness had.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean that somebody had called on Loukashkov?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. (Nods head affirmatively.)

Mr. MORRIS. What did Loukashkov say to you and what did you say to him at that time?

The INTERPRETER. The witness told Loukashkov that he didn't want to go home, and Loukashkov said he was no small child and he knew what it would mean to return, and Loukashkov said he wanted to stay in the United States.

Senator WELKER. Loukashkov said, "I am not a small child and I know what it would do to me if I went back"?

The INTERPRETER. Yes; that is what he said.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did Loukashkov say that Soviet representatives had visited him at the International House?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what he said about that?

The INTERPRETER. He also got two letters. He also got 1 letter or 2 letters and photographs from home.

Shirin, another one of the sailors—

Mr. MORRIS. Shirin?

The INTERPRETER. Shirin was away at work. And Loukashkov and the witness went out to eat and to a movie, and then when they returned, Shirin also returned and told them that he had been contacted by two people at his work.

They also tried to convince him to go back to Russia, and—

Mr. MORRIS. Convince Shirin?

The INTERPRETER. Shirin.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, before we get on to Shirin, may I, Senator, get back to Loukashkov?

Did Loukashkov tell you that he had been visited by Soviet agents?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Yes, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he tell you what they had said to him?

The INTERPRETER. They asked him to follow the example of Shishin and return home.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did they show him photographs?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Yes.

The INTERPRETER. He doesn't know whose photographs, but they showed photographs to him.

The witness remembers that one of the pictures shown to Loukashkov was of his mother and a small boy, his brother.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, does he have any reason to believe—can he give us an estimate as to what hour of the day the Soviet officials visited Loukashkov?

The INTERPRETER. Around 1 o'clock.

Mr. MORRIS. Was it the same time that they were visiting him?

The INTERPRETER. At the same time.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not make a phone conversation to him at the time that the Soviet representatives were visiting you, did you?

The INTERPRETER. At the time when the Soviet agent visited the witness, he did call Loukashkov and told him a sentence which is a slang expression in the Navy, which in translation means, "We are in good spirit but we are going down."

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, let me see if I understand this now. While these two representatives were visiting this gentleman here in his room at the George Washington Hotel, you phoned Loukashkov?

The INTERPRETER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And then you used some kind of code expression to impart a message?

Senator JENNER. A slang expression.

The INTERPRETER. He said he just invented the expression.

Senator WELKER. An expression known commonly to Russian sailors and other sailors?

The INTERPRETER. Now the witness says "No" to those questions. It is just something he thought out to tell Loukashkov.

Senator WELKER. I see. And you used the expression, "We are in good spirits but we are going down"?

The INTERPRETER. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

The INTERPRETER. And Loukashkov answered him, "I can understand you. The same thing is happening to me."

Senator WELKER. Loukashkov then answered the witness? He said, "I can understand you because the same thing is happening to me"?

The INTERPRETER. The witness said that he understood from what Loukashkov said that the same agents were visiting with Loukashkov at the same time.

Mr. MORRIS. Not the same agents, but agents of the same organization?

The INTERPRETER. Agents of the same organization.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you confirm this afterwards when you had a conversation with Loukashkov?

The INTERPRETER. Yes, he did confirm it.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, meanwhile, did Mr. Shirin receive a visit from Soviet representatives?

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Yes.

The INTERPRETER. The agent visited Shirin later at night at his work around 10 o'clock in the evening. They gave him also photographs and 2 notes from the other 2 sailors who later returned, Ryabenko and Vaganov.

In these notes, Ryabenko and Vaganov—

Mr. SOLOVYEV. No, no; Shishin.

The INTERPRETER. The notes were from Shishin and Ryabenko, and they asked the remaining to follow their example and told them that they were living at the Park Avenue Building and were in good spirits and good health and wanted to return.

Mr. MORRIS. And then what happened?

The INTERPRETER. Three of them, Loukashkov, Shishin, and the witness spent hours, spent the night, at the International Student House talking, and they dispersed at 5 o'clock in the morning, and the witness went home to sleep. Before they left, they decided not to return.

Mr. MORRIS. The three of them decided not to return?

The INTERPRETER. All three of them.

In the morning, the witness was awakened by a telephone call. When he lifted the receiver, he heard somebody speaking English to him. He said then whoever was speaking to him switched to Russian, and the witness found out that these were the two agents who had visited him before.

Mr. MORRIS. They phoned him, now, on the morning of the 7th; is that right? A day later, Saturday, the 7th?

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. No; the 6th.

Mr. MORRIS. The 6th. I am sorry. The 6th.

The INTERPRETER. Yes. And the agents asked him on the phone what he thought about returning, and he said, "No go."

The witness called then his two friends, Shishin and Loukashkov, at the International House and was told to wait by them—

Mr. MORRIS. Was told to wait by whom?

The INTERPRETER. The switchboard operator told him to wait. And after he waited for some time, he was told that they were no longer in the International House.

The witness thinks that at that time he told somebody where were Loukashkov and Shishin, because when the witness was told that they were no longer there, it made him suspect that somebody was with them at the time.

The witness says he made a slight mistake and is sorry. He is going to correct something.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

The INTERPRETER. When the Soviet agents telephoned him in the morning, he told them, okay, he would go and see them at the Park Avenue Building at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Excuse me. That was Friday. That was Friday, the 6th.

Senator WELKER. I think we are right on the date.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. We have got that right. Friday the 6th.

The INTERPRETER. They offered to come by car and fetch him, but the witness said that he would rather come alone because he knew the address and would come by himself.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, up to this time, had Mr. Sobolev's name been mentioned by anyone?

The INTERPRETER. No.

After calling his friends at International House, the witness went to [one word stricken] where he lived, and then he talked to a family he knew there, and told them all about the situation. His friends told him that he should do what he thinks he should, but that he must know that nothing good would come out of his returning to Russia.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. Mr. Chairman, may I request on behalf of my organization that that last statement he made be taken out of the public record, if that is possible, because he stated where he is at the moment living, and I do not think that that is helpful to anybody.

Mr. MORRIS. He did not give us the address, and even if it is taken out of the public record, there are reporters here, Mr. Van Hoogstraten, and I think that—

Senator JENNER. Just tell him that you do not want any addresses or names given.

Mr. MORRIS. All we can do is ask the people who are present, if they deem it to the interest of this man, not to use the name, also.

Senator JENNER. And also instruct the interpreter that we do not want any names or addresses given of his friends.

The INTERPRETER. He will not mention his address.

Senator WELKER. For the purpose of the record, I think I will order the address stricken from the public record as given by the witness. I want it stricken.

Proceed, counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. He had not finished that.

The INTERPRETER. No. After spending 1 hour at home, the witness went to New York to the Church World Service and arrived there around 3 o'clock.

In the office of the Church World Service, the witness talked to Mr. Rankin and told him that he could no longer live in [one word stricken] or in the hotel because he felt unsafe and asked Mr. Rankin to do something about it. After that, the witness—

Mr. MORRIS. I mean, that relates to his own personal security. And I do not think we need that in the record at this time.

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Good.

Mr. MORRIS. And in connection with security, is it not a fact that Mr. Shishin, to your knowledge—

Mr. SOLOVYEV. Shishin.

Mr. MORRIS. The day that Shishin went to the Soviet residence on Park Avenue, from that day on, the Soviet officials knew everything about where you lived and where you stayed?

The INTERPRETER. The agents who visited the witness told him that Shishin had given them the address of the hotel, but the witness does not know whether the Soviet agents learned his address in the city where he lives.

Nobody visited him in the city where he lives.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, then, what happened?

The INTERPRETER. He said nothing happened further. He stayed here, and that is all.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did he hear that Mr. Loukashkov and Mr. Shirin had gone back to the Soviet Union?

The INTERPRETER. He learned it from Mr. Rankin.

He does not remember who told him. He thought it was Mr. Rankin, but he is not quite sure about it.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you surprised?

The INTERPRETER. He was very much surprised in respect to Loukashkov and Shirin. He didn't know too well about the others, but these two he had talked to, and they had said that they wouldn't want to return and then when they returned, it was a great surprise to the witness.

Senator WELKER. And then it is your opinion that Loukashkov and Shirin were taken from this country not on a voluntary basis? In other words, they were forced to leave this country where they came seeking freedom?

The INTERPRETER. He does not know. Maybe the Soviets convinced them to go or forced them to go, but he wouldn't say that. In talking

to those two, Shirin and Loukashkov, he heard that they didn't want to go back.

Mr. MORRIS. And you spoke to them as late as 5 a. m. on the morning of April the 6th?

The INTERPRETER. This was the last time he talked to them.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have there been any other contacts, any efforts to contact you on the part of Soviet representatives in the United States other than those you have described here today?

The INTERPRETER. No; there were no others.

The witness thinks that this can be explained by the fact that in the city where he lived, he lived among other Russian emigres who hated the Communists, and if the Soviet agents tried to contact him there, they would be thrown out of the house.

Mr. MORRIS. To his knowledge, were any of the other sailors visited by Soviet representatives other than the visits that he described here today?

The INTERPRETER. The witness does not remember the date when it happened, but Ryabenko and Shishin had been contacted by Soviet agents in the subway twice, and the agents tried to convince them to go home.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you say you learned that from conversations with them?

The INTERPRETER. Shishin and Ryabenko told him.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you experiencing any fear now?

The INTERPRETER. Yes and no, said the witness, but he thinks that Soviet agents wouldn't dare to come to him now.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean now that the thing is a matter of public record?

The INTERPRETER. Yes, he thinks that now nobody would contact him.

Mr. MORRIS. Does he feel that he is getting enough protection, or can the subcommittee assist him in getting additional protection?

The INTERPRETER. He thinks it is enough, that he feels secure enough.

But the only thing he lacks, he would like to have a gun.

Mr. VAN HOOGSTATEN. He won't get it from us.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us this: Do you have any intention whatever of going back to the Soviet Union now?

The INTERPRETER. At the time when the other sailors were at Park Avenue and were contacted by Soviet agents, the witness hesitated and was not sure whether he should or should not. But now, after he sees that nothing could happen to him again, he is determined to stay.

Senator WELKER. That is a very gracious statement. The acting chairman wants to thank you and commend you for that.

Do you have any idea what would happen to you if you would go to Russia now?

The INTERPRETER. Yes, he does.

He says that staying here he can ride in a car on four wheels, but if he goes back, he would have to go about with a wheelbarrow.

Senator WELKER. Probably in Siberia?

The INTERPRETER. Well, not in Russia, but somewhere.

Senator WELKER. He would use a wheelbarrow from the manual end of it?

The INTERPRETER. Yes.

Senator WELKER. And it might be conceivable that even more severe punishment might be meted out to you; isn't that correct?

The INTERPRETER. They would at first play around with him, using him for propaganda purposes, but after that, they could make him disappear.

Senator WELKER. They could make him disappear?

The INTERPRETER. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Senator Jenner?

Senator JENNER. I have no questions.

Senator WELKER. Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No more questions.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Witness, on behalf of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States Senate, we all want to thank you very profoundly for coming here. We realize that it is a hard, difficult task for you to testify on a matter which is so intimate and close, as one who sought freedom, through the bravery that you brought forth by coming here to a free land, and we realize that it is difficult for us to call on you for some explanation as to what happened with respect to your comrades.

We expect to go into this matter as fully and deeply as we can, and I want to assure you on behalf of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States Senate that if through any effort of ours we can be of help or protection to you, you simply have to call us or have our friend, Mr. Van Hoogstraten, call us, and we will give you anything we have in the way of protection and help, and we hope and pray, and we know by this great act of courage on your part, other loyal, freedom-loving peoples who are behind the Iron Curtain will have no need to fear the bastion of freedom here in the United States of America.

The INTERPRETER. The witness thanks you very much.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Any further questions?

Mr. MORRIS. No further questions.

Senator WELKER. The committee is adjourned.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Miss Von Meyer.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

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